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Lindsay

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A
V O Y A G E

TO THE
COAST of AFRICA,
In 1758.

CONTAINING

**A succinct Account of the Expedition to, and the taking
of the island of Goree, by a Squadron commanded by**

The Honourable AUGUSTUS KEPPEL.

Illustrated with COPPER-PLATES.

By the Reverend Mr. JOHN LINDSAY,
Chaplain of his Majesty's Ship Fougueux, in that EXPEDITION.

L O N D O N :

**Printed for S. PATERSON, at Essex-House, in Essex-Street in the Strand ;
W. BRISTOW, in Cheapfide ; and C. ETHERINGTON, at York.**

MDCC LIX.

2798.02

TO THE
H O N O U R A B L E
AUGUSTUS KEPPEL,

Commander of a squadron

of his Majesty's ships against the Island of Goree,
the following Work

is with all respect

addressed,

By his Most obedient,

Most devoted,

Humble Servant,

John Lindfay.



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A VOYAGE

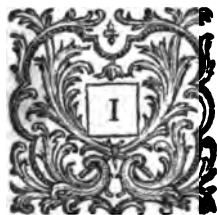


A
V O Y A G E
TO THE
COAST of AFRICA, &c.
IN
A LETTER to a FRIEND at
L O N D O N.

CHAP. I.

Of the equipment of the Squadron—their sailing from Spithead, and arrival in the barbour of Corke—with the misfortunes and delays they met with there.

Dear S I R,



IT is now with great impatience, that we wait at Spithead for a fair wind, to waft us to those sultry regions, where the pride of France is once more destin'd to endure the additional warmth of British thunder. And altho' I have of late been averſe to going any more abroad, I now follow fortune with cheerfulness wherever ſhe leads,—and, however unbecoming a Chriſtian to confeſs it, am ſo warm'd ſince the death of our poor friend

B

at

at Cherburg *, that I rejoice in going upon immediate action ; and could be happy, if I were a soldier, with his skill, to revenge his death ! But alas, my peaceful robes, entangle my arms ; having nothing left me but Cato's comfort——*Thanks to the Gods, my boy has done his duty !*

I have however, altho' by my profession denied resentment, one method of revenge in store, which I hope no British Christian will condemn.——Tho' I have a tender fellow-feeling for many families, who must at this time groan in most lamentable distress, thro' all France ; and who are truly worthy the pity of a supreme and impartial Almighty ; yet I shall pray for the confusion of their politics, from the very bottom of my heart ; and that our Ministry may never sheath the sword, until an enemy so treacherous are on their bended knees.

I wish, indeed, I may not carry my prayers too far ; and that they may not become those of the unfaithful, which do not prevail. We have as yet been somewhat unlucky. The Torbay, on board of which our commodore, the honourable Augustus Keppel, is to hoist his pendant, was hardly prepared for sea, when by an unlucky accident in her magazine she partly blew up.——Scarcely was she refitted, when in a violent gust of wind, she, with a ninety-gun ship, broke their moorings, and were drove a-shore.——These Difficulties were soon surmounted. On the sixteenth of October, the wind E. & N. the Litchfield, and Roman Emperor sailed for Ireland, with the transports, to take on board seven hundred Soldiers ; and on the nineteenth, the wind at E. S. E. at six o'clock in the morning, the whole squadron followed, and arrived in the harbour of Corke on the twenty-second in the evening, when Mr. Keppel first hoisted his broad pendant.

We had an excellent passage ; and hardly any thing worth remark, unless that of our falling in with a Dutch vessel who made us a signal, by a west in her ensign, that she wanted to speak with us. 'Tis observable, that the people of that republic, seldom

* Our author's brother, captain William Lindsay, brigade-major, and captain of a troop in lord Ancram's dragoons : who fell a sacrifice to bravery in a desperate attempt ; to prove the usefulness of those light troops, he himself had the honour to introduce into the British service.

choose to stop a moment, or lose an inch of their course for any body.—That he wanted to speak with us is certain; — had he been in distress himself, he would have fired guns, and certainly have followed us: but by his making the signal, and keeping in his own course, he must have had some information to have given us, with respect to ourselves: some brother in distress: perhaps some enemy at hand, too strong to encounter; or in our power to destroy.—Yet, strange indifference! none in the squadron shew'd the smallest desire to hear what he had to say *. In a few days after (in Corke harbour) we learn'd that a French Squadron had taken one of our frigates, and were in such distress themselves, that they sunk the ship and set the crew a-shore on the Irish coast: how far this is true, I know not; but we are since inform'd, that they were actually in distress, returning from Quebec, and were met soon after, by admiral Boscawen; but at a time, when that Great and Brave man, not on account of his few ships, but from the badness of the weather, had it not in his power to add their strength to that of his country! And I have since been inform'd, that this French fleet was on the day before within sight of the islands of Scilly.

On our arrival at Corke, we were not a little disappointed in finding neither the Litchfield there, nor her convy; but that being forced by stress of weather into Kinsale; two of the transports had been separated, and instead of finding captain Barton in readiness to join the commodore in the offing, the troops were still at quarters in Corke.

The commodore's presence, however, ripen'd matters soon: and on the twenty-fifth by break of day, the wind at N. N. W. the signal was made to unmoor; but shifting to the S. W. prevented our sailing. However, the next morning, the winds changing about to the N. E. the signal to unmoor was again repeated at four o'clock in the morning—at seven we weighed and got under sail,—and at noon, the old head of Kinsale bearing W. *b* S. was distant about two leagues. About which time, Mr. Keppel, by hoisting a Spanish ensign on the mizen-top-mast-head was soon after join'd by

* Our author seems willing to favour his own captain as much as possible: for we are told the Fougueux was the only ship which had it in her power to speak with this vessel.

the Litchfield (I think about two o'clock), and three more of the Squadron: but the usual deliberation of merchant-vessels, let the wind shift to the S. S. E. whereby it became impossible for the whole to get out of the harbour for that day: so that the commodore, about three o'clock, was oblig'd to fire guns as signals for pilots; with whom, being all supplied, we return'd about four o'clock towards Corke, the Litchfield and transports excepted, who retired to Kinsale;—when happy had it been for us in the Fougueux, had we dropt an anchor any-where; or even had we put out to sea; altho' we had been obliged afterwards, to have lain-to the rest of the night!

The winds were fresh, and fair; the seas smooth; our ships clean; and the Nassau and Fougueux, seem'd emulous which should gain the port first.—The Fougueux had been a great way a-stern of the Nassau: she sailed well; and soon got abreast of her. The Nassau, though the smaller ship, was commanded by a senior officer; which gave them a title to jockey, and be positive on the occasion: and having no signal to the contrary at that time, nor being under any obligation to shorten sail, or to bear away, on the contrary rather bore up. The Fougueux again trusting to her heels, in passing the other, being now in the mouth of the harbour, bore close upon her: and going with a velocity of eight miles an hour, we imperceptibly stole upon each other; until even the natural attraction that one body has unto another, began to have effect. In this situation, I believe the officers of both ships were not a little uneasy: I believe, I may venture to say, confus'd.—Who was in the fault, is not mine to say:—whether they were not both; or might be neither.—However, by some mistake* of their helm, we say; and of ours, they say; the two ships ran foul of each other:—the Nassau's starboard bow, on the Fougueux's larboard Quarter. By which, with his bowsprit and spritsail-yard, he snapt short our ensign-staff; almost carried away our mizen-mast; tore into pieces our quarter-gallery; sprang one of our riders; bruised to the stumps, her own cat-head; damag'd several of her head-knees, and timbers; tearing her head in such a manner, that

* *Quere.* Whether or not the Author ought to have us'd *positiveness* instead of *mistake*.

it is now on board the *Arc en Ciel*, to be carried home: and had we not been more than ordinarily brisk, in clewing up our sails, and dropping an anchor, we must both have infallibly been driven a-shore.—But thus dropping an anchor, the *Nassau* back'd a-stern, got clear of us, and safely into harbour. While we, alas, were reserv'd to undergo a few more hardships, in a night of uncommon darkness, with winds increasing!

Being in a dangerous situation; nor daring to lay there, 'till the light of a new day, we set our sails and hove up our anchor, intending for the harbour; but lying too near the *Turbüt*-bank, and unable to cast clear of it, we were again oblig'd to let go the anchor. Sounding, we found six fathoms water, and could veer to a cable's length; but then not farther than forty fathoms from very awful and dangerous breakers!—It was now dark; no gleam of moonshine to enliven; no light reflected, but from those dreadful broken surges; winds storming; seas rising, and roaring over the threatening rocks: and to add to our comfortless condition, no room to cut our cable, should we be forc'd to venture all, and fly from the last stroke. In this situation we let down a boat into the sea, which return'd to us with some gleams of comfort, finding by the lead five fathoms close upon the rocks.

At midnight the winds blew so strong, that we were oblig'd to lower the main and mizen-yards, to strike the main-top-mast, and to let go the best bower anchor under foot. At two in the morning, it began to rain or rather to pour down whole floods of water; but instead of abating the fury of the winds, it rather added to the weight, so that we became oblig'd, to heave short upon the best bower; and clapping a plate in the hawse, we then rode 'till five;—at which time the ship thwarting with the windward tide, she struck above thirty times, altho' in five fathoms water.

I now began, I will confess to you, to think of bidding an eternal adieu to my friendships below;—when my next care was, what papers I might possibly save of value; should God in his all-wise providence be pleas'd to cast me on shore with life. But this was a thought soon left me: a little reflection shewing, that having the whole depth of the ship close upon the rocks, if I kept by the ship, she could not keep by me; and should I trust to my swimming,

ing, the strength of a thousand arms would be dash'd to pieces in a moment!

The seamen were mean time, doing somewhat, while any little could be thought of.—They hove up the best bower anchor; set the foresail and fore-staysail, and cut the small bower cable, in hopes to run from the danger. But alas, now under sail; having cast towards the eastern shore, within Roches Tower; and so near it, that another Minute would have landed us on the banks of eternity; to our utter confusion, the ship would not steer: and we soon learn'd that her weight in striking on the hard bottom, had broke the tiller, short off, in the rudder-head!

In this fresh distress captain Knight, unusually cool thro' the whole, instantly brought her up with the best bower anchor, and rode with a cable;—when, the winds still continuing cruel and hard-hearted, not daring to veer out any more cable, we next lower'd the fore-yard, handed the foresail, and set the carpenters to work, to fit another tiller in the rudder-head; hoping we might be able to comfort ourselves, with at least the safety of our lives. But alas, providence seem'd to frown upon all our endeavours! At eight in the morning, the winds diminishing nothing in their fury, and the sea yawning deep and dreadful, altho' the ship drew not more than twenty-two feet water, she struck again in six fathom; and on such rocky ground, that great quantities of her sheathing-boards floated on the water, and, as is suspected, part of her rudder's bottom! In this fresh surprize, we again hoisted up the fore-yard; clap'd a new eight inch hawser for a spring upon the best bower cable, and casting her with the foresail, fore-staysail, and spritsail, we cut away the best bower cable and hawser, and happily, more owing at last to the kindness of providence, than to all the endeavours of man, we got clear of the Turbut-bank, and safely into the harbour, about nine o'clock: when we came to with the sheet anchor, in nine fathom water; veer'd to a cable; and bending the best bower to the spare anchor, at noon veering away, we moor'd her in the best manner we then could, in eight fathom.—For being glad to fetch any part of the harbour, we lay still open to the mouth of the port; and to all the swell of the seas, and rage of the winds,—so that not being able to heave a-head, we bitted the sheet cable two-thirds out,—and hop'd for fairer weather!

Short-sighted, presumptuous, ungrateful mortals ! Although, as the poet sings,

*Linquenda tellus, et domus, et placens
Uxor : neque harum, quas colis, arborum
Te, preter invisas cupressos,
Nulla brevem dominum sequetur——*

Yet but the other day, I endeavour'd to cover my complaints on the severity of providence, under the cloak of an enemy ! I will confess, I thought the death of so valuable a relation hard.—But to-day, instead of a punishment adequate to the presumption, the thunderbolt is laid aside, and a present is made me of my life ! I am sorry for my fault,—and begin to learn a Christian's prayers, should be for peace. I have now indeed greater reason than ever, to wish peace to us all, and a happy meeting at home. Scenes, like the past, are not desirable ; tho' methinks while the war continues, even with me, 'twill look bad, to draw back. I have some hopes, however, of never meeting with such another.—My captain, who has been almost constantly afloat for these thirty years and upwards, confesses never to have been in half the danger of that night : and that it was the kind interposition of providence alone, when all human art was baffled, that we are now in safety. And what is very remarkable, without the loss of a life, limb, or any other misfortune to our crew, a few falls or bruises only excepted ! And 'twas well indeed providence made bare his arm in our behalf : as it was impossible for us to have receiv'd any assistance from the rest of our Squadron. In the evening before, the commodore, anxious for our safety, while it was yet moderate, did what he could, and sent his own pilot on board of us ; with an account, that he himself had struck upon a rock, receiving some damage in his sheathing and false keel, and beseech'd us to keep clear of that danger.—But when we came to extremities, our making signals of distress would only have made our friends the more unhappy !

During the remainder of the day, and succeeding night, we were obliged to lie in this deplorable situation. The winds blowing still very hard ; with no possibility as yet of assistance, but in hopes from the mercy above ; all our friends now in fight ; and had we been driven

driven by the violence of the winds, we had not one anchor more left us, to have let go in our relief!

On the twenty-eighth, towards noon, the storm abated; and becoming more moderate, in the afternoon, we renew'd our efforts; and by heaving in our sheet cable, and veering the best bower, we made a considerable amendment on our moorings;—Dog's Nose bearing S. S. E. and the mouth of Cross Haven river about W S. W.

On Sunday the twenty-ninth, the weather became more moderate, mix'd with rain. When our old pilot, a man who had been much oblig'd to captain Knight on former occasions, came from the shore to our assistance; when to our comfort we learn'd that we lay not a cable's length from a shoal, running from the south side of Spike island. I say to our comfort; for, happily for us, we have these two days been ignorant of our danger! We immediately weigh'd the best bower, and, veering away the other, drop'd him farther to the northward; thereby clearing ourselves a little from the shoal, and at the same time shutting a little more the openness of the harbour's mouth.—And on the day following, the commodore ordered captain Sayer to spare us one of his anchors: and soon after we receiv'd from Kinsale, another anchor and cable.

On the first of November, the winds had so far subsided, that we had some hopes of recovering those anchors and cables, which we left behind us on the twenty-sixth of last month; and had fix'd for that purpose, a devit on the bow of the lighter which brought the anchor and cable from Kinsale: but the sea as yet ran too high, to effect it. And on the second, third, fourth, and fifth days (so assiduous was the commodore, in seizing all opportunities of getting to sea) we had in each, signals to unmoor, but were as often disappointed; having the constant trouble of mooring again in the evenings. During which time, captain Knight made daily efforts to recover his lost anchors; and on the fifth in the evening the lighter return'd, with the best bower anchor, and part of the cable; by which we were enabled to return the Nassau that which we had borrowed.

On the sixth, having lain the preceeding night at single anchor; and in the morning suspecting it to be foul, we hove it up to look
at

at him; but were oblig'd to drop him again instantly, the winds coming from S. to S. S. E. and S. E. so hard and squally, that we found our ship (when the anchor was down again, and cable taught) drive to leeward; and being afraid of falling upon the shoals of the western shore, we dropt the small bower, and veer'd to two-thirds of a cable: but the winds increasing, and driving us from our anchors, close upon the shoals, where being as yet open to the fury of both seas and winds, from the harbour's mouth, maugre all our endeavours, we were brought at length to hang out the ensign of distress. Mean time, about ten o'clock, we got out two small anchors and hawsers; half an hour afterwards, captain Sayer sent us a stream anchor and cable; and soon followed all the spare boats in the squadron to give us their aid. We got down our top-gallant yards and lower yards; struck both top-gallant masts, and top-masts; and having then got as little hold of the winds as possible, we began to heave from the danger; and about four o'clock, having got up the small bower, and hove the ship to windward by the stream cable and hawsers, we drop'd the small bower again in nine fathom, and veer'd to two-thirds of a cable; when Dog's Nose bore S. and Roche's tower S. *b* W. Early next morning, we found it necessary to vere away more cable; when, by some unfortunate accident, both cable and hawser ran out end for end.— Providence, however, still befriended us! Tho' the bitts were set on fire by the velocity and weight of the strain, we suffer'd no other damage:—the clench of the small bower cable itself, without giving way, very wonderfully brought us up, when we let go the best bower, in seven fathoms; and in the afternoon we moor'd the ship, with a cable in both ends, Roche's tower bearing S. one-half E. and the middle of Spike island N. N. W. On the eighth, being not as yet in a place of safety, early in the morning we hove short on the small bower; carried out the cadge anchor, to bring our ship to the Eastward; and veering out the small bower again, we hove her over, mooring at last in a pretty good birth, Dog's Nose bearing S. *b* W. and the middle of Spike island N. W. in eleven fathom water. On the ninth we creep'd, with the longboat, for our small bower anchor; which we left behind us on the twenty-sixth of last; which having found, we clap'd a buoy and buoy rope on him, waiting some other opportunity to weigh him.—The tenth was a

C

day

day of mirth and jollity; — the birth-day of his most gracious Majesty; when, besides our squadron, there being in this harbour at the same time the Arc en Ciel from Hallifax, and the Colchester from the East-Indies, with seven sail of that trade, we made in firing a very noble appearance, and such as the People of this nation are but little us'd to see.

On the day following, being the eleventh of November, the winds at N. E. & N. we at last got clear of this harbour, and of this coast. — We got off Kinsale by four in the afternoon, where we were join'd by the Litchfield, the Roman Emperor, and transports, to the number of eighteen sail. As follows :

The LINE of BATTLE.						
Frigates	Ships	Commanders	Commander in chief	Rates	Guns	Men
Fire-Drake Bomb	Litchfield	Mat. Barton	The Honourable AUGUSTUS KEPPEL, on board the Torbay.	4	50	350
	Prince Edward	Wm. Fortescue		5	44	280
Experiment	Naffau	James Sayer		3	64	480
Roman Emperor	Torbay	Thomas Owen		3	74	700
Furnace Bomb	Fougueux	Joseph Knight		3	64	500
	Dunkirk	Robert Digby		4	60	420

The Litchfield to lead with the starboard tacks on board ; and
The Dunkirk to lead with the larboard.

Given on board his Majesty's ship the Torbay,
in Corke harbour, Nov. 1, 1758.

A. Keppel.

Two bomb tenders, and six transports with troops.

CHAP. II.

Some reflections of the author, on the misfortunes the fleet met with during their stay in Ireland; with some proposals how to avoid such accidents for the future.

BUT before we put out to sea, permit me, my dear Sir, to indulge myself in a few observations. They may be thought a landsman's — But be it so — You and I are no other; and we shall stand corrected, when the more knowing shall be pleas'd to differ from us.

Some time ago, upon an expedition to Halifax, it was thought proper to embark troops from Ireland. — Whether that the Roman catholicks of that island are on the decline, and not so much to be fear'd from them; whether we were in danger of invasions at home, and could not spare them from Britain; whether the expedition was not far from being to be coveted, and the greater interest stay'd at home; or whether troops might not be wanted in England at the same time, to carry on an expedition of far greater importance; shall be left to the decision of the more skill'd in politicks: certain, however, it is, that admiral Holborne was detain'd in this harbour, for some months, by winds which almost constantly sit in one quarter, during the winter, from the time of the equinoctial gales; and at last was oblig'd to turn out with so scant a wind, that one of his ships struck on the Turbut-bank in the mouth of the harbour: The consequence of all which was, getting there too late, and being oblig'd to return as he went, after a great expence of the public coffer, as well as laying the characters of otherways brave and able officers, under the public lash, whose only fault was their not being able to command the weather.

Nor is this the only instance of expeditions being delayed, by putting into Corke harbour; — but I will not multiply. Our own misfortunes there are recent. The oldest people here (and age gives experience) expected to wish us the compliments of a Christmas season: so little did they lay any stress upon a change of southerly winds: — and all this, only to take with us six or seven hundred men; which out of England could hardly be missed. — And if we really did want forces in England; why detain an expedition of consequence,

sequence, when at your leisure you might make up those detachments, by bringing over the Irish troops from Dublin to Parkgate, or from Corke to the more southern Ports of England? But these are past;—it remains now only to guard against, as much as possible, misfortunes in the future.

We have seen a ship run a-ground on the Turbut-bank; we have seen an expedition, on which the eyes of a great part of our country were fix'd, within a moment of being ruin'd, with the loss of three capital ships. It remains, I say, to guard against, as much as possible, misfortunes in the future: and one very obvious method, which is daily in our power to put in practice, is as shamefully neglected. Most of our draughts of Harbours, give in fact only general ideas; insomuch, that not a master in fifty will choose to take charge of a ship into any of our ports, while a pilot is to be got: and this can proceed from nothing but a sort of diffidence in the knowledge of the place. Would we amend this? All our draughts are made by adding observations to observations. Our ships are constantly on the seas, where thousands of useful observations may every year be made: 'Tis a field in which officers of genius, may have frequent opportunities of making themselves known to their superiors, from whom deserved advancements must come; and yet 'tis strange, there is not perhaps an officer in all the navy, who, in the compass of several years, will be at the trouble of transmitting to the Admiralty or Navy-board, the smallest new observations made, or old errors corrected.—We never had so many men in our service, capable to make just and accurate observations as now; but to obtain them, we must seek another source.—The task must be enjoind them by their admirals: it should be expected of them; and when any signal observations shall appear, encouraging acknowledgments should be made them. By this means, appearances of lands in perspective, which in our present wooden views are most ridiculously unlike, would become more useful; longitudes more certain; and the entry into ports, with safety from their sand-banks and shoals (excepting bars that shift), would become as certain and obvious, as mile-stones on a road. This knowledge, which from this source, from time to time, would be transmitted to the public, would not be confin'd to his majesty's navy alone; but, for the general benefit of trade, would even add experience to pilots, in the

the nature and difficulties of their own particular harbours.—Nor do I think it would be unworthy the notice of our commissioners, to offer particular encouragements to private pilots, in this matter. It might be a means of inspiring in them a laudable ambition; of improving their genius; of rendering the art of pilotship respectable; and of rescuing it out of the hands of ignorant pretenders, to be improv'd into general benefit by men of abilities.

For a sad example of the truth of these observations, I need go no farther than this port.—Every fisherman is, or pretends to be a pilot: any of them will take the charge of a king's ship, of what rate soever: and at the same time, there is not one of them knows scarcely a fathom of the ground, but by mere habit.—They know there is a bank in the harbour's mouth; they know that if they keep close upon the eastern shore, it is to be avoided; but if in scanty winds, and times of distress, they can't command their usual course, they are utterly disconcerted; and can no more tell you, where it begins on the north, how far it reaches to the south, or its situation and breadth from east to west, than they know of what particular sort of fish are caught in the opposite part of the globe, tho' both of which they may guess at from report. And, indeed, it were to be wonder'd at if they did. They are very little us'd to sounding of rivers; or, by proper land-marks and angles, fixing either the shape or depth of a channel; and there is not, at present extant, one chart of that harbour that can in any just manner be of service to assist them.

I was myself, about a twelve-month ago, in this port: and being induced (by the accident which had a little before befallen one of the ships under the command of admiral Holborne) to make a few loose observations upon the harbour; on which I perceiv'd, by the eye alone, that all the charts of this port, had been laid down by the antient rule of thumb, and even in that way itself, finish'd in a very bungling manner. Prompted, from these defects, to make more accurate observations, I had the favour of a chart of it publish'd at Dublin, from the right honourable the earl of Inchiquin, thought by that nobleman to be the best he had seen, as a sort of help to me; but was, in reality, very little. I labour'd a good deal upon it; and, for the greater exactness, took the principal angles, with Hadley's quadrant

quadrant as well as the theodolite; and where they differ'd, took the mediums.—But I had not been in the harbour six weeks, before my ship return'd to England; when I left the draught unfinish'd. On this present occasion, I renew'd my remarks as far as I could; some of them in the most dangerous circumstances, and at a time when life and death were at a struggle: but have not been able, as yet, to finish the whole:—such as it is, however, and as my labour and little experience have delineated it, I have sent you (PLATE I.) with my liberty to dispose of it as you please, if possibly it may be of public benefit: and this use in particular I think might be made of it.—A harbour of great consequence to Britain, in which its several draughts differ two or three points of the compass; several miles in the circumference; twenty, thirty, forty, and in some places fifty feet in the depth of water; and the whole form extremely distorted and unnatural, may, by this information, induce those whom it may more nearly concern, to continue the amendments; and serve as a hint, that a draught still more correct, and at a trifling expence, might be easily procur'd †.

C H A P.

† There is another method, for the farther preservation of his majesty's ships, which our author, if he had divested himself intirely of partiality, might also have propos'd; and which, as we can have no personal interest in view, those whom it may concern, will the more easily forgive the following freedom.

We are told, there are many captains in the service, who, from a second-nature, can never get rid of acting the parts of inferior officers; having, perhaps, serv'd a long while in the quality of a midshipman or mate; and longer still in that of a lieutenant. Some there are, who have contracted a fondness of bellowing their commands to their people, which, they think, is like a seaman:—others are so ridiculously opinionated, they imagine nothing can be well done, they do not themselves:—there are others again, who are perpetually on deck, being at a loss for any other way to dispose of their times; and are, in all these several cases, led, less or more, to do many little things which are, or ought to be, far below the dignity of a British commander. Not that we are of opinion, that a captain has no business with the command of his own ship, who ought certainly to be the *primum mobile* of all;—but only that he should act in the general, without descending to particulars, which are the duties of those officers appointed to be his assistants. There are captains, whom we have heard of, like the cuckow in June, seldom seen; but when seen, admir'd: they knew every thing; order'd every thing; interfering in no officers particular duties, from their cabbins were sent their orders in state and regularity to all: once a day they took an airing upon the quarter-deck; and if, upon particular

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C H A P. III.

Of the difficulties through which the Squadron labour'd, after their departure from Ireland to their arrival at Santa Cruz road in the island of Teneriff.

BUT leaving digression, permit me to proceed with you in our voyage; in which, on the seventeenth, at four in the morning, in thick hazy weather with rain, we lost sight of all the Squadron: but at seven, hearing a gun in the N.W. the wind at the same time shifting from S. E. *b* S. to W. N. W. and rightly judging it to be a signal on board the commodore, we wore ship; and tho', for some time after, we could see but two of our men of war; yet, at noon, we saw two more; at three in the afternoon, another; and at ten, clearing up, we join'd the commodore and Squadron, without any accident happening, but the separation of one of our bombs, whom we nevertheless were in hopes was well. Next day, at noon, we were join'd by his majesty's ships the Pallas and Saltsb, in the

particular occasions, or emergencies, they found it necessary to give the word of command, the captain's voice would enliven the very deadeft of the crew. There are others, we have heard of, who are perpetually on their quarter-decks; and tho' the service, in this respect, is very much mended; yet there are many, at this day, who will stoop to do even the duty of a boatswain: there are those, who will find fault where there is none; and, merely to appear of consequence, will do, undo, teaze, puzzle, and harrafs a whole ship's company; while some jealous of being thought nobody, will take pleasure in being openly troublesome to every body; and in cases of extremity, the discontented crews hang heavily in their duties, and will do twice as much for the youngest officers on board, as they will for them.—So industriously do men sometimes go about to render themselves little! And in the present case in hand, albeit our author seems to soften the matter, and is unwilling to say the misconduct was the faults of either captains:—yet from the whole, we may not unjustly suspect, that had the command of the Fougueux and Nassau, devolv'd from their respective captains, to their pilots, as they ought, whether a great deal of the misfortunes they then underwent, might not have been avoided? For it is well known, even to landsmen, by public report, that many captains of the last sort, even in ports where pilots are allow'd, and where the captain is unacquainted, will take much of the command from them: and, in their usual blustering manner, before ignorant men, will, by throwing them into confusion, rob them of their senses, and confound the little command they leave them. An amendment in this, we presume, may also be of service to the navy in strange ports.—

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former of whom commodore Keppel acquainted the Squadron, we should have an opportunity of sending home letters to our friends, in a few days. On Sunday, the nineteenth, the winds began to blow fresh at W. N. W. so that a signal was made for the Prince Edward to take one of the transports in tow, who was not able to follow us through the seas; and in a night following of dirty squally weather, of great lightning and thunder,—in which commodore Keppel had one of his people struck dead under the half-deck, and by the same vein of lightning had his main-topmast split into pieces,—the sea from the N. W. rose into heaps of such height, that we close-reef'd our fore-topails, handed our main-topail, got down the top-gallant yards and masts, clued up the foresail, and, still the more to ease our ship, lower'd down the mizen-yard, and look'd for better weather: but on the twenty-first, in the morning, finding two of our fleet missing, and still no appearance of the winds or seas abating, the commodore made the signal for the Pallas to take her leave, without being able to send any packet or letters on board her. On the twenty-third, the two ships missing return'd to the fleet; having lost company by the boisterousness of the weather, and the great swell which had constantly attended us since our leaving Corke, from the N. N. W. and W. On the twenty-seventh, the winds rose high, and blew hard from another quarter, viz. the S. S. W. which tho' it moderated a little on the twenty-eighth in the morning, about noon it freshen'd again; and about nine at night, growing squally and inconstant, we handed the main-topail, and haul'd up the main-sail, expecting a night of terror and danger! At one o'clock in the morning, the twenty-ninth, we set our main-sail; but was glad by two to haul it up again, the squalls coming upon us with lightning and thunder to a degree terrible! And at seven in the morning, we were surpriz'd with the sight of land, close under our lee, from E. *b* S. to S. *b* E. and some of our ships so near, that they seem'd to be a-shore. 'Twas a doubt with some of our officers, if what we saw was land; but seeing other ships wearing from the danger, the most prudent method was to follow example; being now reduced to five sail, and uncertain if all the others, e'er this time, were not sunk to the bottom, or wreck'd on the shore. At nine we reef'd our mainsail, and, steering from the danger, about noon we got tolerably clear from the land. About this time captain
Sayer,

Sayer, in the Nassau, having been close upon the shore, and seeing one of our ships wreck'd; which he, at the same time, was persuaded was the commodore, in the Torbay; being the next in command, open'd Mr. Keppel's letter of rendezvous, and made a signal for the remainder of the squadron to come under his stern. Mean time the commodore being in safety, and considerably to the leeward, made the same signal, to wit, to bear down to him; and as two of our ships, were at a distance too far to discern it, of which the Nassau was one, the Fougueux repeated it; and at two, reefing our mizen-sail, which had before been ballanced, at three we were oblig'd to haul up our fore-sail, and lye too under the reef'd main-sail.

Never, in the memory of the oldest of our seamen, was such a continued tempest seen! Sometimes it was so dark, 'twas with difficulty we could discern each other on the deck:—presently, in the midst of a dreadful gust of wind, the heavens would break out into such flames of sulphur, that, while the sea turned sometimes to a green, sometimes to a blue, and at others to a pure white, the whole face of the sky was in such a blaze, that it was with difficulty we recover'd our sight for a season! From a scene of this sort, the next minute would ensue so profound a calm, that the sails beat against the masts, by the motion of the ship only; and in two or three minutes following, from a sudden squall to a mere hurricane, roaring in such a manner, that being oblig'd to ease off the foresheet (while there were yet four turns on the hold), it was torn out with a force so violent, that the adjacent timbers were set on fire! But what is, perhaps, an accident the most strange that has ever befallen mariners, since sailing has been brought to the present degree of perfection, still remains.—By our reckonings we were no less than an hundred and twenty leagues distant from the main land; in the latitude of Porto Santo, altho' many leagues from that too; bound to the island of Teneriff; and yet in a dreadful tempest were drove upon the coast of Morocco, when half an hour's longer darkness, nay, a few minutes more, would in all likelihood have given the whole of our squadron a grave in the deep, or chains amongst the barbarians! It was indeed so mortifying a stroke to the whole art of navigation, that had we not been too near to be deceiv'd; nay, had we not left many of our countrymen, in most

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melancholy circumstances behind us, the accident would have look'd too ridiculous to have been ever credited.—And in this, is seen the greatest instance of the weak short-sightedness of the art of man, as well as the remarkable goodness of a merciful all-disposer! whose hand, albeit, it seems to have been set against us from our first preparations, has been still merciful in our extremities; and may, in the end, be pleas'd in his infinite goodness to ripen his corrections to all our advantages!

But our misfortunes were not yet over! one of our number, a bomb-ketch, had been separated from us, almost from our leaving the harbour of Corke. The Litchfield, captain Barton, we had left behind us on the coast of Barbary, laying over-on one side to the shore, with all her masts gone by the board; the Somerset transport struck a little a-head of the Torbay, and before that ship could wear clear of the danger, the seas were seen to break over the transport as high as her main-top: one of the bomb-tenders had also shar'd the same fate. About five in the evening we perceiv'd, at a distance, another of our men of war hang out a signal of distress: and at seven we heard another of our ships fire two guns, who coming nearer us, about eight firing a third, and shewing lights, we found it was the other bomb in distress; and which, by her burning many false fires, and lanterns in great haste passing too and fro on her deck, we had reason to believe was great. In half an hour after, falling down upon us, she hail'd us; but the winds were too loud to suffer any sounds to be heard distinctly. We guess'd, however, that she wanted we should stay, and protect her; but it being, at that time, impossible for us to save a single soul, had the vessel been sinking, and, in so strong a gale, with seas towering to an immense height, as it would in all probability have sprung our own masts, which we fear'd was the case of the bomb, we committed her to the care of an abler deliverer, not daring to bring too and lay by her! We therefore answered her signals of distress, by making a signal to the commodore of speaking with him, and so continued or endeavour'd to continue our course;—but providence, contrary to our inclination, made us befriend the distressed; the winds being such, we had it not in our power to desert her, and in the middle watch, she made us easier concerning her situation:—coming near enough to be heard,

heard, she told us she had been fill'd with seas, and had enough to do to keep her above water; she wanted no help; but hop'd we would be kind enough not to run from her. About five in the morning, the rain ceas'd; at six the weather breaking up, we let the reef out of the mainsail; and at seven and after, we got up our top-gallant masts and yards, receiving, at the same time, no small addition to our happiness, the sight of thirteen ships, ourselves included.

On the thirtieth, at two o'clock in the afternoon, the commodore dispatch'd the Prince Edward from the fleet, if possible to learn intelligence of our brethren left behind us. At three the commodore made our signal to come within hail of him, to ask us of our health, fearing some disaster, from our signals the preceeding evening: at which time we were also confirm'd in our opinion, concerning the land we had so providentially escap'd; being that part of Barbary lying betwixt Cape Blanco and Cape Cantin, of which the commodore could be very certain, being close upon the shore.

On the first of December the weather grew serene, the sun warm, with light breezes at W. *b* S. in which we were employed in staying the main-mast, main-topmast, setting up the rigging, and casting off the cat-harpings from our main and fore-shrouds, being now in hopes of some settled weather. But, these, alas, were too sanguine! Next morning early, our former weather return'd at S.W. *b* S. fresh and squally, and day-light presented us with our commodore without a main-topmast; when fearing the like mischance, we lower'd again our top-gallant masts, and handed our courses. About noon (the winds blowing too hard to let down a boat into the sea) Mr. Keppel made our signal to come within hail of him: when, altho' the noise of the winds permitted us not to distinguish what he said, we guess'd by circumstances that he was now reduc'd to borrow a main-topmast; which, as ours would be the most likely to suit him, he wanted we should keep near him for that purpose, if the weather should again grow moderate. About this time too, some strange sails appearing in the N.E. quarter, the Nassau and Dunkirk were ordered to give chase, and were out of sight soon after, the weather being hazy and winds strong. About four in the afternoon, growing stormy, we reef'd and ballanc'd our mizen; and in

the night, the commodore finding it necessary to bring too, we lay under a main-sail : But maugre all his care, on the morning at daylight, we found five sail had parted company with us.

About noon on the same day, (sunday the third) we descry'd two ships in the N. E. which we were order'd to chace, being now the only man of war left with the commodore. We hop'd at first to find them, if not the Nassau and Dunkirk, to be the Prince Edward returning from the coast of Barbary, or at least some of our Squadron, who had lost us in the night ; but coming nearer to one of them, we found her to be a two-deck ship, under white colours : and altho' the weather was now so exceeding bad we could not possibly open our lower batteries, or indeed engage to purpose in any ways ; yet it is impossible to describe to you the joy visible in all the faces of our crew, when orders were given to clear ship for action ; and on the other hand how depress'd, when, coming still nearer, we discern'd in the colours and pendant the arms of Spain. We retain'd however some hopes, from her being French built, and that under those colours, she was an enemy in disguise, judging, from the fury of the weather, that we could not possibly send on board of her ; and therefore altho' we hail'd her, and were answer'd that she was no other, instead of returning to the commodore, we brought too close by her, resolving to keep her company until better weather might undeceive us : which the commodore observing, bore down to us, ran under our stern, and order'd us to hoist out a boat, and go on board of her.

'Twas a shocking task ! An order, which we receiv'd in the same manner, that a criminal hears of his death-warrant,—and such as our captain said he would not on any account have imposed on any officer, unless when in this manner order'd. There was indeed a probability (and that was all) of the thing's being done.—And there is this much to be said at the same time on the side of the order, that notwithstanding the danger, 'twas necessary to be done, both on account of the approaching night, in which darkness might favour an escape, if an enemy ; and if a friend, and lately from home, in our present uncertain circumstances, it would be no disagreeable piece of knowledge, to learn by his reckonings how the Canaries or the main continent bore off us.

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It was now late, night coming on apace; before we got up with the chace again it was quite dark; the sea ran so high and often broke terrible to behold, that when the boat with much ado put off from the ship, I for my own part, imagined I had taken my last look of her.—However, soon after, by lights which we saw handed over the ship's side, we found they had got on board of her; when we hoisted two lights in the mizen shrouds, to direct the lieutenant in his return; and soon after, we had the good fortune to take them all up safe.—The chace proving to be a ship of sixty-four guns, from Cadiz, with a convoy to the Canaries, with which he had lost company on the day before; and by his reckoning, cape St. Vincent bore off us N. E. about sixty leagues. However, the commodore, not being able by contrary gales to make westing in his course, which we now mostly wanted, and not choosing altogether to trust to the Spaniards reckonings, after such unaccountable errors in our own, seem'd inclin'd to return to the coasts of Europe to take a fresh departure; and on the fifth at noon, we were got near into the latitude of cape St. Vincent. But the winds changing that evening in our favour, we wore ship, and stood again to the south.

On the ninth, a strange sail in the S. E. made us the signal of being a friend, giving us some hopes of news from our unhappy friends on the Barbary shore; but it prov'd to be the Dunkirk who lost company with the Nassau on the same evening they went from the fleet, *viz.* Saturday the second, having heard no tidings of her, nor having met with any of the ships she chac'd. At twelve that day, we descried land to the S. E. of us, which soon form'd as in figure 1. plate 2. which from several circumstances, we had reason to believe to be the island of Lancerota, with the adjacent isles of Santa Clara and Alagranca. And tho' they be not of such consequence as the other islands, yet being not taken notice of in other books of navigation, I have given other appearances of those islands in figures 2. and 3. This evening the weather growing moderate, and the seas much fallen, we let down our spare main top-mast into the water, and got her tow'd on board the Torbay, who had been ever since the second in the morning without one.

On Sunday morning the tenth, we descried new land to the S. W. which we judg'd by the log, and our having lain by from moon setting at three o'clock until day break, to be the island call'd the Grand Canary.

Canary, and that we were then distant from it about twelve leagues ; appearing as in figure 4. The Saltash also being ordered to make sail a-head, coming nearer the land, was of the same opinion, and haul'd up to the west, shewing the Commodore it was not there we were to find our port ; altho' at the same time Mr. Keppel, by his motions, seem'd to us, to have some suspicion of its being the island of Teneriff. About noon, or after, the master of the Fougueux became very uneasy about the course we steer'd, being positive it was no other than that of Teneriff ; and at one o'clock desir'd the captain would bear down to the commodore and acquaint him, that it was his positive opinion, who had been often there, that it was the island sought for.—Captain Knight had been often there himself ; he thought appearances deceitful ; commodore Keppel, had certainly mariners on board of him, who knew the lands as well as we ; and being of opinion that it would look too like dictating to a commander to trouble himself in any ways with it, he was satisfied to follow his leader. At this time the island made its appearance as in figure 5, distant by guess, about eight leagues, the weather hazy ; and about half an hour after two, being a little clearer, I discern'd over the westernmost end a pike, as is there exhibited. All this evening and the following night, with a smart and steady east wind we kept jogging on to the west ; and at day break on the eleventh, we descried another island right a-head, bearing betwixt S. W. by S. and W. extremely high ; having its top cover'd in clouds, and a settled haze around it. Approaching nearer, altho' many were of opinion we had now fallen upon the island ; captain Knight very positively asserted, it was no other than that of Palma. However, the Commodore had made himself so certain of his being now a-breast of his desired port, that he stem'd right in, until it made its appearance as in figure 6, distant about three leagues.—At which time the Pike of Teneriff rais'd his head from under the clouds, about twenty leagues to the eastward, directly in the winds eye ; and having convinc'd us we were upon a lee-shore, and that by so steady looking a gale, we had now a hard and tedious piece of work to beat to the windward, covering again his head in the clouds, he bad us adieu. At this time too, we saw the island of Gomera, bearing south about twelve leagues, making as in Figure 7.

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We now stood to the N. E. and giving over hopes of setting foot on shore for some time longer, we amus'd ourselves after the disappointment in a very common manner, by finding out how this and that might have been better manag'd; and that if this one's advice, and that other's opinion had been followed, we needed not as at that time have been beating the ocean for an island to the windward. One thing indeed, and a very common one too to seamen, very much surprizes me that it should be so often overlook'd, or at least so little guarded against. I mean currents. Every seaman knows, for instance, that there is a constant current sets towards the N. E. from the Gulph of Mexico, which is sometimes very uncommonly felt at a distance, no less than twenty-eight degrees north latitude. There are also some of them very certain of the causes of this phenomenon; *viz.* the monsoons and tradewinds, which blowing upon the face of the ocean south-easterly, begets a motion of the sea in the same course; which being at length forced into that great gulph thro' the southern channel, must, according to a very common law in natural philosophy, be forced with an equal velocity, on or near to a similar angle; and which in this case must be north-easterly, and through the northern channel, by the coast of Florida and Carolina, until its force is spent in seas of a variable latitude.

It is true this current is easily guarded against, because the cause is almost constant; and of course the effect; while currents in the latitudes thro' which we have past, are seldom known, the suction of the Straits of Gibraltar excepted.—Besides this, it may be objected, that currents in variable latitudes, can in no ways be guarded against, farther than in swells which may be visible; since while a ship in one place enjoys a serene sky, a strong and sudden gust from another place, and not many degrees from her, may give the surface of the sea a motion which may affect her, tho' not to be perceiv'd by the mariner on board of her. These I will grant true: tho' at the same time, if a landsman may be allowed to have an opinion in natural causes which concern the ocean; I think there are instances on which we can have philosophical certainty of currents, when the mariner makes an allowance for a swell only. To explain which, suppose a smart gale in the latitude of Great-Britain, blowing southerly, gives the sea a motion which may be felt by a swell at the distance of thirty degrees north latitude: I will suppose likewise, that at that distance,

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its force being abated, the sea will remain at rest at sixteen feet below the surface; the top only being agitated, and that, at the rate of one mile an hour. Now supposing a ship here drawing twenty feet water, going south with a gentle gale at three miles an hour, what allowance will be proper to be given for that swell which carries her, or rather may seem to carry by the motion on the surface, at the rate of one mile? A mariner should doubtless consider, that altho' in this case the seas carry him one mile at top, yet being at rest at sixteen feet below, he will find the current at eight feet (the half) will hardly carry him half a mile; a medium to which, allow three-fourths; the remaining eight feet of current dying away to a calm at sixteen, will hardly push him on a fourth; the medium betwixt which, and the three fourths, call one half: now to this progress of half a mile an hour, passing over the resistance of the remaining 4 feet of dead water towards the keel, the real distance gain'd will not be more than three miles and an half, which the mariner might have call'd four. But this is trifling; when swells are not greater than this, seamen seldom are far out. There are cases far more considerable; for example, such an one as we have ourselves so lately experienced.—— Strong N. W. winds coming with excessive violence across the whole Atlantick Ocean, and continuing there, or near it, for weeks together, must of course create a motion or current in the whole mass for many hundreds of feet in depth, and which at the surface must be very considerable.——Now if the winds have abated; the surface become smoother, and there is no swell discernable, it is true no mariner can possibly be guarded so readily against it: but on the other hand, altho' there is a swell; altho' the mariner is in the winds which cause that swell; nay, altho' he is sensible that the same winds have continued for weeks together, he makes no greater allowance for him or against him, than he would do in the case of a swell, which altho' as great, he is sensible was made by a gust of wind, of no longer continuance than as many days; which in my humble opinion must be extremely erroneous. For while he allows perhaps two miles, or so many points an hour for the huge swelling seas, which are the effects of these winds with which he is then engaged; he never allows himself to consider, that those very seas on the surface, which are agitated by the present winds, and which carry along his ship, are themselves in like manner carried along at a much greater rate by that current obtained by the continued force of the winds across

cross the whole ocean.—There are seamen, I am well appriz'd, who laugh at all new projects and new doctrines which were not in use in the navy in the days of their ancestors : but if it was no current of this nature, and which we ought to have expected from unerring causes, which carried our Squadron on the coast of Barbary, when we rather expected the Madeira Islands ; it will be well if such mariners from their longer experience, will take the trouble to settle it as it ought, for the benefit of future Navigation.

But to carry this matter farther. I will allow, that our pilots might not be thoroughly assured, that a long tract of N. W. winds could have had such an effect, as to warrant their shaping a course so uncommon, as must have been the consequence had they known it : but then it might have been expected from a long sea experience, and when pilots were convinc'd that a current unknown to them had already forced them to the S. E. with uncommon velocity, that they might have guarded better against the bad consequences of the same current in the sequel. We are all sensible, that as solid bodies retain any motion given them ; and when obstructed, fly off in certain angles ; so are we as certain, that water, when it contracts a motion will also retain it ; and that if obstructed, will fly off in such angles, as certain channels or banks may give it direction.

If things are so, seas forc'd with impetuosity in a S. E. direction upon so great a tract of ground as is betwixt cape St. Vincent and cape Cantin ; and at the same time, obtaining a direction in its future course, thro' that vast sweep to cape Bajatore, must be very considerable in its effects : and if the pilots had consulted their draughts in this point, they might have been morally certain, that such a current before it could pass the cape of Bajatore, must have contracted a direction not much less than S. W. Now if the current from the Gulph of Mexico, almost in a meridian latitude, is felt as far north as that of Virginia, it would have been far from unnatural to have expected such consequences, in so small a distance as betwixt Bajatore and the Canary Islands ; and which, if it had been consider'd at the time when the island of Teneriff appeared to us suspiciously, it would have been more adviseable to have lain-by, or rather indeed, have stood to the eastward, until the haze had clear'd away, and matters had been more certain. These reflections, have indeed, an affinity to the old proverb, of shutting the stable door.—But if they can

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prove

prove even hints, for gentlemen of skill and attention, to settle the subject of currents upon a more certain and intelligible foundation for the future, they will be of some use. They are also the reflections of a landsman; I give them as no more; and stand corrected if in the wrong.

But to return to our voyage. After a very indifferent night, a new day presented us with no better comfort, than winds fresh and contrary—And about noon, giving chase to a sail at windward; to add to our former misfortunes, in making sail, we found that in the last nights violent pitching, we had sprung our fore top-mast.—When the commodore seeing our distress, gave chase himself; but the vessel proving Dutch, we pursued our course. On the thirteenth about noon, the winds growing more favourable, we were enabled to lye up our course; and at the close of the day, we got sight of a point of land, which we took to be Teneriff. On the fourteenth in the morning, we descried the island, as in figure 8. distant about four leagues, bearing betwixt W. S. W. and N. by W.——Going farther to the southward, as we steer'd for Santa Cruz, the N. E. end appeared as in figure 9.—And when the island bore between S. W. and N. about three leagues, it appeared as in figure 10.—The grand Canary appearing at the same time between S. E. by E. and S. by W. about 10 leagues as in figure 11.—Shortly after this, we got an open view of the port and town of Santa Cruz: and in its harbour (if an open bay can be so call'd) the appearance of so many vessels, that we had great hopes of hearing good accounts of all our ships missing; and that in the end, they had had better fortune than ourselves. In the afternoon, we all at last got to an anchor in the road; in which, sounding for anchoring ground, we found none, until we were in a line with the north and south head lands, which form the bay: when instead of twenty, and twenty-five fathoms, as we were made to expect, from our draughts of that harbour, we found no less than seventy, sixty five and sixty fathoms; and but a little nearer, and within two miles of the north castle or fort, we dropp'd our anchor in forty fathom.

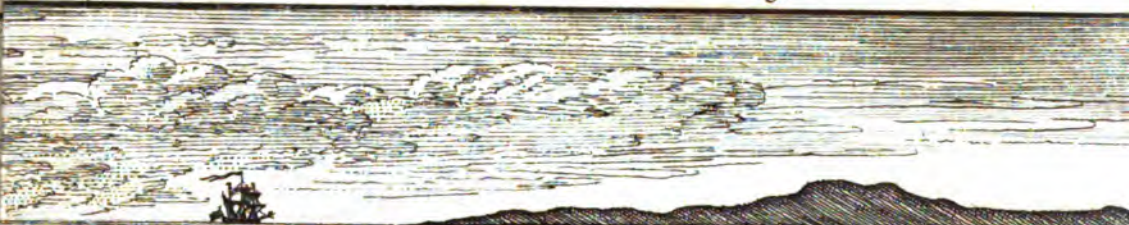
Here we had the pleasure of meeting with the Nassau, who having parted company with the Dunkirk, as before related, on the storm of the third instant, got safe into port some days before us. The bomb-catch, who was separated from us, early after our departure from Ireland,

Fig 2

to the W Southerly more of Lancerota thus Fig 3

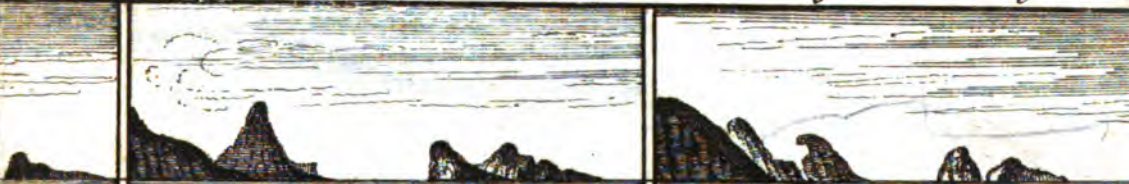


Fig 5



The Pike of Teneriff appearing in the Clouds SE 20 Leagues

Fig 7



when this End bears NW it maketh thus Fig 9

D^o NW 1 N thus Fig 9



Grand Canarie SE 6 E and S 6 W 10 Leagues

Fig 11



E 6 E, Cape Emanuel SE 16 S^t Magdalane SE 6 S

Fig 13



NE & Cape Emanuel 3 Leagues Distant

Fig 14

Ireland, was here also. The Experiment, long ago dispatch'd from the fleet, to get matters in readiness, and hasten our expedition, unluckily by the badness of the weather, did not reach the island much sooner than the fleet. We found also here an ordonance transport, which, being dispatch'd after us from Spithead, had also made a much happier passage : and the Prince Edward, after a fruitless endeavour to find out, and if possible to relieve our unfortunate friends on the Barbary coast, fell in with this island on the ninth instant : but the Nassau at anchor, seeing at the same time a strange sail in the offing, made him the signal to give chase ; when meeting afterwards with contrary winds, he was not able to recover the port until late that evening.

Recruiting our squadron with water, as well as wine, became now our chief attention ; and so remarkably keen was the commodore to be in action, that as the Experiment's late arrival had not given the Contractor a timely enough notice to provide the fleet in wines, he order'd the squadron to be put to a short allowance, and to hold themselves in readiness to sail upon an immediate notice. We were however fortunate enough (just as we had compleated watering) to be supplied with wines which came round from the N.W. side of the island, at no small care and expence to the contractor. On the same morning which brought us these boats from the N.W. that is, on the nineteenth, it blew so strongly from the shore, that at day-break we found one of our squadron drove from her moorings, three leagues to sea ; but about ten o'clock loosing her sails, she again plied into port : at the same time we observ'd, a great way out at sea, a vessel north country built, which gave us no small joy ; naturally for us, taking her to be the Somerset transport, which we left on the coast of Barbary.—She prov'd indeed a friend, and one of our squadron ; but not what we hop'd for. She had been sent to Guernsey before our departure from England, for brandy to the fleet ; and not returning to us in time, had been dispatch'd after us, on her arrival at Spithead ; joining us in a lucky time, for on the day following we bid adieu to the island.

C H A P. IV.

Of the nature of the island of Teneriff.—Of the manners and customs of its inhabitants.—Of the strength of its principal sea-ports.—And of its curiosities.

BUT before I leave this island, I must not forget what to you may be as great an entertainment, as that of our expedition itself.—This island is the greatest in circumference of any in these latitudes, but not the most considerable, the Grand Canary being more abundantly stock'd with corn; and the Madeira, remarkably more famous for its wines, being esteem'd the best in the world for preservation in a hot climate. The land, or rather the rock, for land is here a rare commodity, is prodigiously rugged and lofty; and the pike itself so famous for its being the highest land in the world, altho' it is hardly to be seen at the harbour of Porto Santa, on account of adjacent mountains of immense size; yet is known by its heighth at sea, at a distance no less than an hundred and eighty miles. The soil is here very light, sandy, and full of small rocky stones: I have observ'd also, that in digging the surface for stone, for making of cellars, foundations of buildings, and the like, there are three or four different stratas or sorts of stone, differing in colour and hardness, as clay-pits in England; but its sandy soil a-top is nevertheless fertile to their wishes, producing two crops a year, and of some things three. Of pot-herbs, there are here plenty: besides their own sweet potatoe, they have great abundance of the English kind, and at a very reasonable price: their apples are not indeed so juicy, as those of a northern growth; but they are made amends in the sweet and bitter orange, the bergamot lemon, the common lemon, citron, lime, pomgranate, and several other juicy fruits, much superior in a climate so hot.

The diet of the generality of the inhabitants, is but very poor:—a couple of eggs, with a few toasted chesnuts, walnuts, or figs, of which there are vast quantities, will make an extraordinary meal. Nor have the better sort of people, any great variety:—roasted fowls, olios of fowl, hog's flesh, and herbs; pork, and fish, being the most commonly to be come at: as for beef, the pasturage is too poor in the general, to permit its being brought to market,
and

and is therefore rarely us'd. Goat's flesh is much more easily fed; they thrive on their mountains, and may be bought at the rate of three or four shillings. I saw there some beautiful oxen, of the English or Flemish breed; but I am told they are rare, and that they cannot afford to kill them, as those as well as cows work in the fields and in the furrows, for want of mules or horses, which are very rare, the ass being the common beast of burthen and of the saddle. Their bread is but indifferent; it is naturally brown colour'd; and the lees of their wine, which they use as a substitute for yeast, gives it a sowerness not at all agreeable to a stranger: besides which, and the potatoe already mention'd, they have also the plantain and bonana, which, if us'd before they are too ripe, are by many esteem'd agreeable.

As to their manners, whither so strong a squadron might not make them somewhat the tamer, I know not: I shall however speak either as I felt or have authority for, and hope that all was real. Amongst the better sort, they are exceeding courteous; and altho' they still retain the custom of lattices in their windows, and do not very frequently make concerts of music or entertainments of dancing, especially for strangers; yet they have got greatly the better of the jealousy of Old Spain. They begin to get over the disagreeable and expensive custom of ceremonious visits amongst themselves; and now choose the friendly manner of taking the chance of finding a family at home, rather than put them to the little trifling preparations which visits of state and ceremony require. They have also almost intirely thrown aside the dress of Old Spain, nothing almost remaining unless the veil for their women, and cloak for the men; both of which are in this island worn, not as being an essential part of dress; but, in reality, as a cover for the dirtiness of some who have no dress; or the laziness of others, who will not put on that which they have. Those who can afford it, when they go abroad follow a sort of French mode in all their apparel; which they have adopted since the last war betwixt Spain and Great Britain: and those who can imitate the better sort in apparel at home, begin to wish cruel custom would permit them to shew their shapes in the streets without a veil, as it does their superiors in their equipages.

Of

Of their hospitality I shall give you one instance ; not to multiply.—A young gentleman of the Squadron, unacquainted to any soul ; and being benighted in a town where there was neither inn nor tavern, was solitarily walking the streets, when a Spaniard accosted him : the young gentleman could not speak Spanish, nor could the other speak French ; however he made a shift to let the young gentleman know, that if he was at a loss for a lodging, to be free and follow him.—He did ; was entertain'd in the best manner possible ; caus'd his lady, after supper, to amuse him with her harpsichord ; and before he would allow him to depart in the morning, loaded him with such fruits as were then in season.

Of their humanity, let this suffice. An English officer, stepping into a boat at the public landing-place, by chance missing a foot, was taken out of the water almost dead.—A Spaniard seeing it, flew to his assistance, calling for his servants at the same time to carry the gentleman to his house. Some other English officers there interfer'd in the matter, and would not suffer the Spaniard to put himself to any inconvenience, while there was an English consul's house to carry him to. Upon which the other, with great earnestness, made answer, *What is the consul's house to the unfortunate gentleman ? before he can receive help from him, he may be no more !*—And charging him to his own house, got him all the assistance the place could afford ; and on his recovery, sent him carefully on board his ship. These, with several other civilities, with which at present I shall not trouble you, we were so unpolite, and so like Englishmen, as to repay with quarrels and broils, both in their streets and harbour ; to the great uneasiness of both bishop and governor, who were obliged to interfere in one of them, as well as to the great scandal of our countrymen.

With those good qualities, they have also some as bad ; and in particular, as they have lost a great share of their native jealousy, so have they in reality no room to find fault with their wives ; the husbands themselves being often most ridiculously foolish in their own amours, and will forget themselves so far, as to step aside in their public highways, with the most dirty trollop on the road ; being at the same time sensible, that by practices of this nature a venereal ailment in this island is commonly intail'd from father to son for several generations : and as none are said to be admitted into holy orders,

orders, but such as are of a clean family ; so is it no uncommon thing amongst the better sort (when they have abus'd their blood in the above shameful manner) to screen themselves and families from public and evil reports, to bribe their clergy to admit some one or other of their families or kindred, into a church or convent ; which at once not only stops the fears of some, but even the suspicions of others, and the mouths of all.

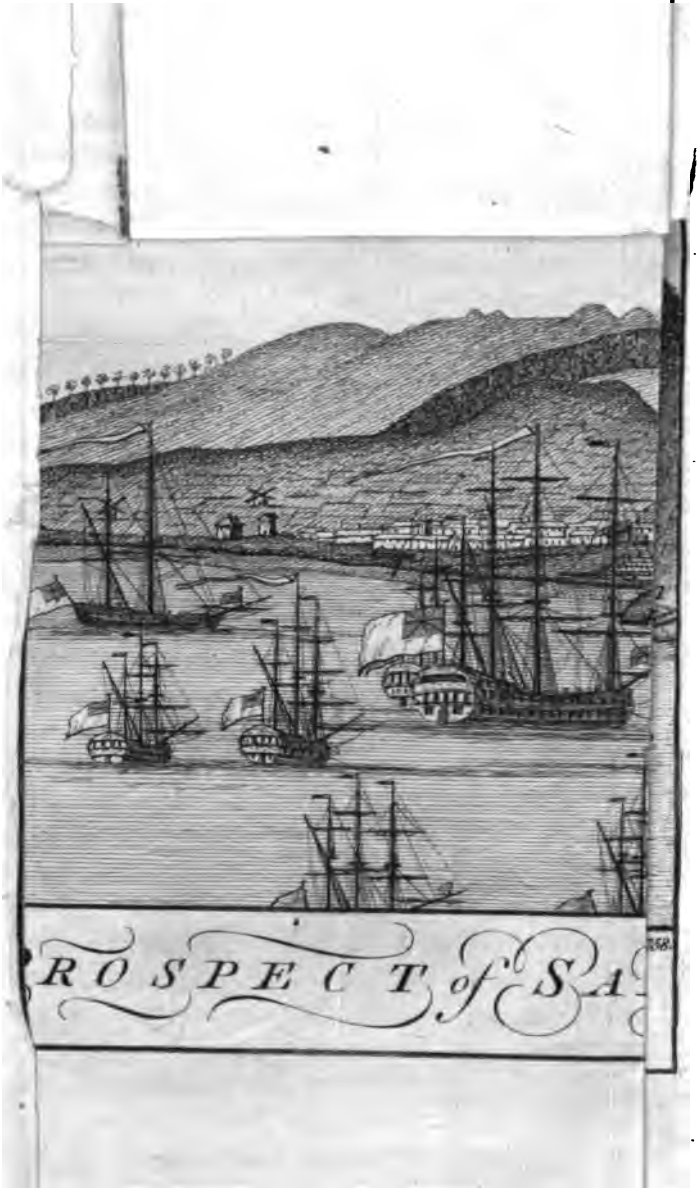
Of public buildings, I saw few worthy of notice. The prevailing taste for private dwellings, both in town and country, is a kind of square, with an open or area in the middle, which they find occasions a constant coolness, that plain single houses enjoy not. Their churches, like as in all Roman catholic countries, are built and adorn'd either superbly or inelegantly and tawdry, according to the taste of the people ; but all of them showey. There are in this town of Santa Cruz, two churches and one convent. And as it is the principal sea-port, and place of strength of the island, the bay which forms the harbour, and along which is built the town of Santa Cruz, is fortified by no less than nine castles, or rather batteries :—on the first of which, and most northerly, are thirteen guns, small metal, and poorly cover'd : next to this are two circular batteries, all about a musquet-shot from each other, and can bring three guns each to bear toward the sea : about two musquet-shot to the south of these, and in the north end of the town, is a fourth battery, on a sort of rising ground, mounting I think seven guns : from this a musket-shot, and low upon the beach is a fifth, strengthen'd with eight pieces : next to which, a musket-shot farther, is the public and indeed only landing-place free from surff and foul ground, where a pier is carried out upwards of three hundred feet into the sea, and secured by their grand battery or citadel, which can bring eighteen guns to bear towards the sea ; the most of which being but twelve pounders, with three or four of eighteen : a musket-shot from this, and low upon the beach is a seventh, with eight guns more : lastly, a great gun-shot from the former, are two other batteries ; the most northerly of which is higher than the others, being situated on a rocky point, and by its appearance seems to be of consequence next to the citadel, altho' about a mile and a half to the southward of the town : the other and ninth, has no communication with either the town or bay, but seems a small battery, design'd only as a support or flanking.

flanking battery to that next it; but of what force I could not be inform'd.—For I must here observe to you, that the Spaniards are extremely tender and timorously jealous of permitting foreigners, especially English, to be made acquainted with the nature and strength of their batteries; and carry this matter so far, as to have seized the master of one of our ships of war, committing him to prison, for only sounding about his anchor, to know if he lay in good ground; so that being a matter of danger and of offence, the only way I had to make myself acquainted with the strength of their batteries, was by going on board of different vessels, scattered at different distances; which is at best but an uncertain method, since there may be guns capable of doing execution, which might be out of the view even of the telescope. A great many, indeed most of them are brass, very indifferently mounted; the walls all of them stone; and none of them of any considerable thickness, except the citadel itself. (See Plate 3.)

About four miles west from Santa Cruz, and up a very disagreeable ascent, lies the metropolis; called the city of Christopher de Laguna, or Christopher of the Lake;—but most commonly, bearing the name of Laguna only. From the several streets thro' which I pass'd, I think it is near a square in figure; and makes a compass of about three miles. The streets are broad, regular, remarkably streight, level, and clean; adorn'd in most part with a uniformity in its buildings; amongst which are several churches, three convents, and two nunneries,—one of which containing three hundred ladies, the other two hundred, admits no boarders, and none under the age of sixteen. There are here also, in one of the convents, a college for young gentlemen; where the oriental languages, rhetoric, logic, and philosophy are taught them; and in which I was very agreeably entertain'd, by an old sociable Spanish friar; and where I had the pleasure of learning much of the nature and customs of this island.

Without the city, on the west, is a very agreeable meadow of a beautiful verdure; and in which I am told, were encamp'd in the last war fifteen thousand men, for the preservation of the island.—The meadow might indeed hold such a number; but from whence such an army was brought, is not so easily accounted for. Here too is the lake from whence the city takes its name: I thought it small;

and



and not answering to its name (Laguna signifying a large lake), but was told that in wet seasons it will overflow the whole of the meadow, even to endangering the city itself; the waters from the immense mountains towards the west of the lake, and not farther than one mile and an half from the city, falling down into the low grounds from eight or nine several high and steep cataracts.

It was with regret I left this island, not having it in my power to get upon the greatest curiosity of the place—I mean the Pike. For our short stay at this harbour, and the dreadful accounts which was given me of the place, render'd the journey imprudent to be undertaken. I made it my business, however, from two gentlemen of that city who had been there, to get the following particulars.

In the summer it is possible to get thither, tho' even then upon the top, it is so immensely cold, that visitors are glad to get as quickly down as they can: but in the winter, as it was when we were there, altho' at the bottom, one will often think even a waistcoat burdensome, yet there is no possibility of ascending far upon the hill. There are, nevertheless, stories told of those who have attempted it; but in the execution have vomited blood, and, being oblig'd to return, far short of the summit, have soon after died the victims of their own rashness. The method of going thither, is first to manage one's time so as to get to the foot of the Pike over night; where resting a few hours, in the cool of the morning he must remount his horse, and, travelling up a zigzag road, he will find himself, by the time the heat of the day makes travelling disagreeable and dangerous, about one mile from the bottom: and as the traveller cannot use his horse farther than the top of that zigzag road, and the remainder of the day being too short for the completion of his task on foot; he must there spend the rest of the day, where he will find an open shade or sort of uninhabited inn, made by public order, for the convenience of those who shall travel thither; and who, carrying provisions with them, spend the night, and leave their horses there in the morning. Rising with the sun, the next day's journey is on foot; not by any direct path, or winding form, but in the best manner he can, and which for shortness, and not to be benighted, is usually a sort of perpendicular climbing; and, tho' often

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on all four, yet not without some danger of falling. Having in this manner ascended about two miles, they say, in perpendicular height, you find upon the top a beautiful level containing about three acres of land; and near to which a volcano, which altho' for these forty years past has ceas'd to do any other than at times to send forth a smোক, yet by one of its last eruptions it reduced Garatchica, a delightful town and safe harbour, on the north side of the island, to a situation far from being so commodious or safe as the open road before Santa Cruz. There, far exalted above the clouds themselves, if the weather is clear, he has a delightful prospect of every thing around him, and of islands at the distance of more than an hundred miles; but at the same time is unable to enjoy the scene as he may wish, on account of the great snows which surround him, and an air so intensely cold that he will be glad to get back as soon as he can.

After this there is hardly any thing else curious I could meet with, unless you admit some of their trees of ornament as well as use, such as the cedar, olive, mastic, the leguan shrub; also the beautiful palm-tree (fig. 4.), the arbor drago, or dragon's blood (fig. 5.), and the pappau-apple (fig. 7. plate 4.); they have also, very common, a sort of houseleek which grows both on houses and in the field to a prodigious height, some of which I have seen no less than eight feet (fig. 8.), with many other weeds and herbs of a medicinal nature, such as aloes, the dildo-bush (fig. 9. plate 4.) &c: the milky juice of which last is said to be poisonous, tho' I receiv'd no harm by dropping a little on my hand; yet, as they are common to most countries of this latitude and soil, deserve no farther attention. Of singing birds they have several, one only being thought valuable, somewhat smaller than our black-bird, of a black colour; but dies when confin'd: as to the canary-bird, they seem not to value it greatly—but it is time to take my leave of this port.

C H A P.



CHAP. V.

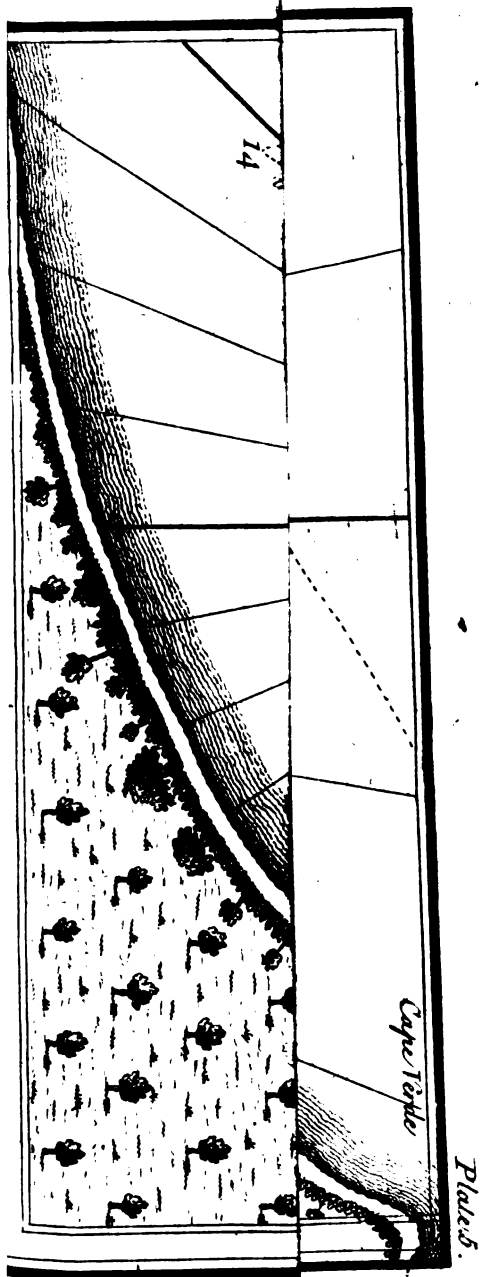
Of the fleets sailing from Teneriff, and its arrival before the island of Goree,—with an account of the action, and the surrender of the island.

ON the twentieth day of December we sail'd from the island of Teneriff, our fleet consisting in all of eighteen sail; and the four following days, having a fair and constant gale, and the weather warm and cheerful, the commodore, who loses no opportunity when the service calls his attention, had frequent signals for exercising his squadron in lines of battle, the use of great guns and small arms, and in throwing of shells from the royals which had been sent on board our ships on this expedition; and of which Mr. Kappel it seems has a great opinion. On the twenty-fourth in the morning we reach'd cape Blanco, which, bearing east about five or six leagues, appeared as in figure XII. plate 2. There we had twenty fathoms water, with a red coarse sand: and steering from thence, to avoid falling upon Blanco banks, a S.W. course, we had in the distance of fifty-six miles, fifteen, seventeen, twenty, and thirty fathoms; sometimes brownish sand with shells. From hence bearing up to the eastward of the south, we found no ground with forty fathoms; twelve hours afterwards we sounded with fifty fathoms, no ground; and in three hours after that, threw out a line of one hundred and thirty fathoms, and had then no soundings. From hence we had nothing in our course to take us up but cape Verde, with which we fell in on the twenty-seventh in the morning, bearing S. S. E. six or seven leagues (see figures 13. and 14). And soon after (I think about ten o'clock) we first observ'd with our glasses the island, or rather the fort and flag-staff on the summit of the hill on the island of Goree, towering above the low lands about cape Emanuel. About which time the commodore sent a frigate under French colours, a-head of the squadron; with orders as soon as she came open with the island, to hoist an English ensign at the mizen-peak, being the French signal for that day, in order to deceive them; but no notice was taken of it. We were afterwards inform'd, the French for some time flatter'd themselves with the

hopes of our being in reality a fleet from France ; but finding in the end, that, when all the Squadron hoisted the same colours, they did not salute the fort, which is a thing always done, they were soon undeceiv'd. About two o'clock, as we past the island, we haul'd down the French and put abroad the English ensign. At three, we anchor'd in the road of Goree, the island bearing S.W. $\frac{1}{2}$ S. about four miles, and in eighteen fathoms water ; the Saltaish being order'd with the transports to bear down to a bay, betwixt point Goree and point Barnabas, in order for the more convenient and speedy landing of the troops on board them, if the ships of war should find occasion to call them. (See the chart, plate IV.)

We had very early perceiv'd two briggs under sail, betwixt the island and the main, which, upon our approach, finding they made towards the island, we were ready to imagine they had all that day, from our first appearance, been busied in sending from the island their most valuable effects ; and in the remaining part of the day and night following, fearing they should not be able to escape the impending stroke, they sent off to the village of Oom, on the main, all such of their people as chose not to be in the action — they say, it was their wives — perhaps too, if we may be allowed to speak for them, their company's clerks, &c. with such other of their things of value which their country canoes could lug off.—If they should be able to stand their ground, the clerks with their effects could easily return ; but should they be oblig'd to surrender, their treasures were better in the possession of those to whom they had been long oblig'd, perhaps to their mistresses and children, than to enrich an enemy. To prevent which, however, Mr. Keppel ordered a boat with a lieutenant from every ship, to go down to the Saltaish and wait her captain's orders, if peradventure it should be possible to put a stop to any effects going from, or help coming to the island ; and moreover to prevent other accidents, boats were ordered to row guard about the Squadron thro' the whole of the preceeding night : mean time the commodore sent his boat to the main land, if possible to learn intelligence.—The person employ'd on this piece of service, was one De Chome, formerly a private soldier on the island of Goree : a man, who taking it into his head to be jealous of his negro mistress, and that M. St. Jean, the Governor, had employ'd his comrade to act for him in the quality of pimp ; one night while he

drank



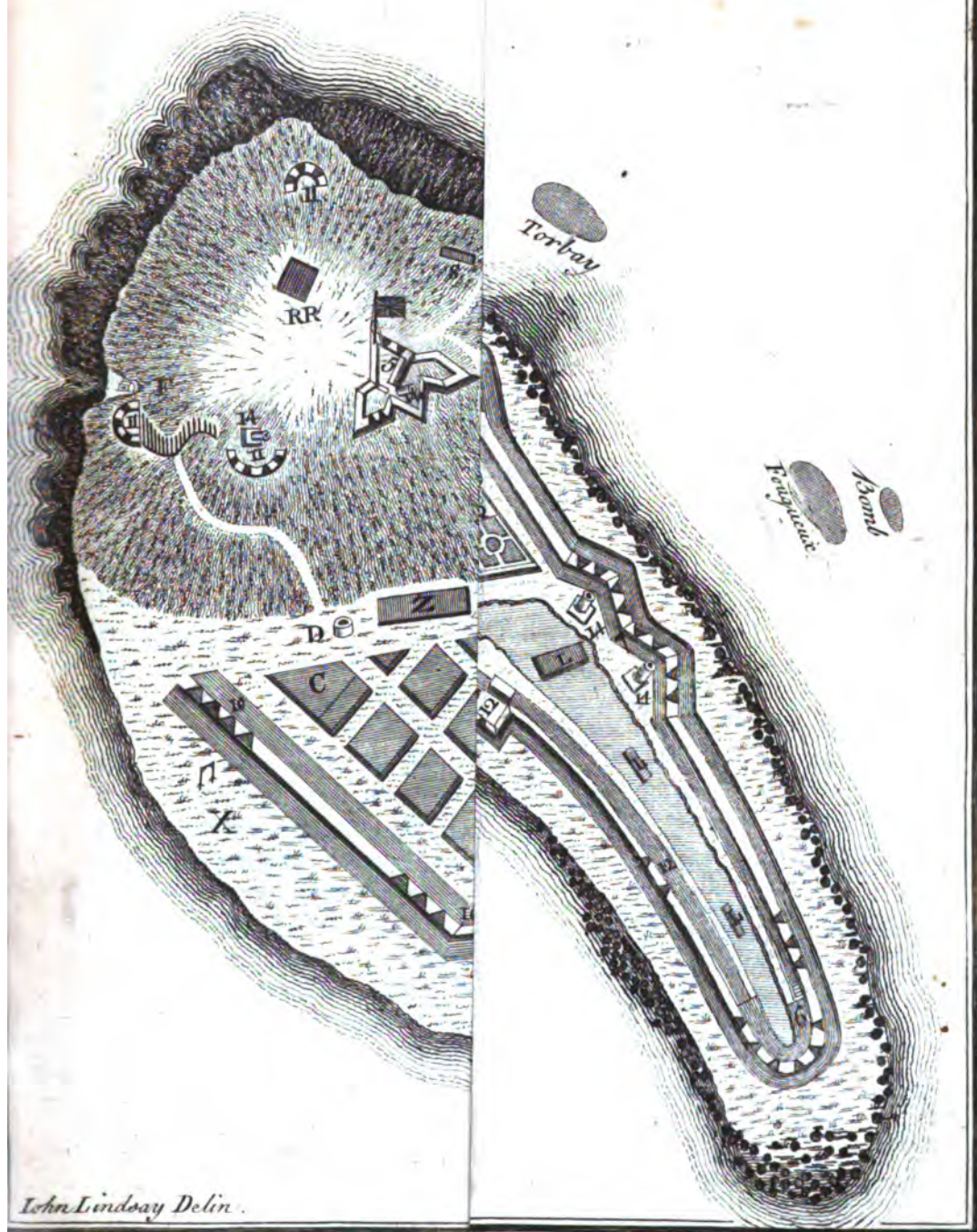
drank with him as a friend, in a most cruel manner stab'd him to the heart, while the cup was at his head. Being tried, and condemn'd to have the right-hand cut off, and hang'd, he was sent prisoner to Senegal to be executed; when luckily for him, and imprudent in the French, they deliver'd up that island into the hands of the English, with this murderer unexecuted and in chains: who, to be reveng'd of his enemies, and secure his life under the protection of Great-Britain, offer'd his service to captain Marsh in his attempts upon Goree. This De Chome, knowing not how far he might have been become obnoxious to those who were attach'd to the interest of M. St. Jean, could not with prudence trust himself on shore, and was therefore contented to bring on board the fleet such accounts as a negroe would give him, who was perswaded to wade into the water as far as the boat. His accounts were, that there had lately been there ships from France; that the garrison had been recruited with three hundred soldiers, and that they were in no ways apprehensive of our force; they had heard that commodore Keppel was preparing to pay them a visit, they expected five or six ships would accompany him, and had heard in particular that the Fougueux and Nassau were to be of the number: part of which, if not all, we had at that time reason to believe true; tho' we found it otherways in the sequel.—The former visit paid them was but with two ships only; whereupon M. St. Jean, surpriz'd, was pleas'd to say;—*What! think they I shall give up the island to two ships? No, not while a gun stands on its carriage.* But now the case was altered; four ships of the line, a forty, besides frigates, and two bomb-ketches, were prepared to give them battle; and yet no flag of truce was seen: and instead of making proffers, or treating for articles of capitulation, for the benefit of themselves and company, of which we had some expectation; we found them occupied in preparations for a defence, scaling their old guns, and in carrying ammunition of all kinds to their batteries, great quantities of which we afterwards found, scatter'd profusely around all the island,—such as double-headed shot, chain shot, star shot, great spikes of iron, and old rugged nails, bound up into sizes for their gun bores; and besides the common shot in use (the great and grape-shot), they were also well supplied with every different kind of destruction from the shells of bombs.

Mean:

Mean while we ourselves were employ'd in the like preparations: the first thing to be done, was to get our sheet cable out of the starboard gun-room port, which, bending to the spare anchor, we put in readiness to drop: our boats next were to be hoisted out; to them followed our booms, spare masts and yards, &c. &c. &c. which being let down into the water, and fasten'd together, we moor'd to a cadge anchor; and being thus far prepar'd we rested for the night, impatiently longing for the morrow.

On the morning of the twenty-eighth, at four o'clock, all our flat-bottom'd boats were sent on board the transports, for disembarking the land troops; which was finish'd, and all of them (to the number of 600 men) in their respective boats, before nine in the morning; during which time, the ships of war finish'd also their preparations.—About eight o'clock the signal was made to weigh anchor,—immediately after which another signal was made for all captains,—and long before captain Knight could return from the commodore, long before the Nassau shew'd any readiness to get under sail, considerably before the Prince Edward bore down to the enemy, and while yet the Torbay had half a cable out, the Fougueux's anchor was a-peak, impatiently wishing for orders. This, though I mention now in particular, my reasons for so doing will appear more plain in the sequel.

De Cheme, of whom I have just now spoke, had made out a very rude sketch of the island with its batteries, a copy of which, was presented to every captain; and the resolutions therefrom, were as follows.—It was thought most prudent to attack the island on the west side; not only because it was the weakest side, but a reason more cogent to so formidable a squadron, was, its being the lee side; that should, in that case, their cables be cut away by a chain shot, or any other accident, the ship or ships without any danger might put out to sea, and beating to windward renew the action: whereas, should they have anchored on the east side, and to windward, by an accident of the above nature, the ship must immediately have been down a short; the consequence of which, to one ship only, might have proved terrible to all the squadron. The next resolution, was settling the manner of going down.—And by the form of the island (see plan, plate V.) it will appear, the more easily to hit it with shells, in respect to its small breadth and length, from so uncertain a back as a ketch



hatch on the water, that no places more eligible can be imagined, than the stations appointed for the bombs, by the commodore: and as it was necessary one of the bombs should go down first, the Prince Edward was ordered to cover her from the fire of the enemy; and to anchor a breast of a small lunette battery *en barbet*, a little below the citadel on the north.

The eldest captain, Mr. Sayer, in the Nassau, was ordered to lead the line of battle on the right, anchoring a breast of St. Peter's battery of five guns. The Dunkirk followed in the order, and was to bring up a breast of a battery, a little to the north of the former; which battery, altho' it might have been begun before the affair happened between M. St. Jean and De Chome, was as yet unfinished, and not an embrasure at that time opened. To him, follow'd the commodore in the Torbay, taking for his part, the west point battery of five guns, with the western corner of St. Francis's fort, of four guns of a smaller size. Captain Knight, in the Fougnetux, having the second station on the left, bringing up the rear, (having directions at the same time, to cover the other bomb on his starboard quarter) had allotted to his share, the mortar battery of eight guns; so called, from two large mortars which are covered by that battery.—The moment the first ship had dropp'd her anchor from her stern, she was to hoist a pendant at her mizen peak, to acquaint the next ship that she had brought up: thus the second was to acquaint the third, when she brought up; and so of the rest: and lastly, they were ordered to be particularly careful not to fire a gun, until each had his ship a breast of his station, and upon'd both a-head and a-stern. With these directions and orders, the commodore bade his captains farewell. And while they took leave of each other, Mr. Keppel's last order was, to get on board their ships as fast as possible, and lead on.

'Twas about nine o'clock, when the Prince Edward with the Fire Drake bomb, bore down towards the island; and in ten minutes after, began the action by throwing a shell from the bomb. In a moment, the enemy return'd the fire from both forts and batteries; and with their second shot, were fortunate enough to carry away the Prince Edward's ensign staff, and set fire to an ammunition chest by it, which blowing up, kill'd one of the marines. Encouraged by so successful an onset, and finding the ship did not return their fire, they levelled some of their pieces so well, that captain Fortescue, Mr. Elliot, of the marines,

marines, his master, with two midshipmen, had nigh hand all of them suffered with one shot; which went through the midst of them as they stood together, impatiently looking out for their second.—Another shot coming thro' the aftermost port on the lower deck, broke the truck from the gun, but going out at the opposite port, happily did not hurt a limb.—One in particular was more merciless; striking upon an iron bolt of about eighteen inches in length, it carried it out of the timber, bending and rudely bruising it in its passage, till meeting with the unfortunate lieutenant West, it tore away one of his hips, and carrying him to the opposite side of the ship, bruised him from the hip to the shoulder, in a manner so shocking, that it had been happy had it depriv'd him of life at once!—Another, on account of the heroism of a private sailor, deserves notice; being in the fore-top, and having one of his legs carried away by a shot, with the heart of a lion, let himself down from thence hand under hand by a rope, saying at the same time, *He should not have been sorry for the accident, if he had done his duty: but that it gave him pain to think, he should die without having kill'd an enemy* *.—But I will not multiply.—Few, I may venture to affirm, none in the squadron saw her in the midst of this shower of deadly warmth, and in a condition so unequal'd, without sending up their most fervent wishes on the occasion!

The commodore, in the mean time, was not an idle, nor a useless spectator. He saw the Nassau tedious in getting under sail: but as there could be no reason to suspect an officer of such approv'd courage as captain Sayer; imagining somewhat foul about the cable or the like, might be the cause, and expecting every moment would put all to right, he turn'd his thoughts to other methods which might possibly be of service. Observing that the Fire Drake over-charg'd her mortars, (all her shells falling vastly beyond the island, to the south) and which they themselves could not discern; he sent his boat on board the Furnace bomb, with this message, *That as they saw the error of the other in over-charging the mortar, they would avoid that extremity: and that as the enemy seem'd bent upon sinking the Prince Edward and Fire Drake, he desired they would at the distance they then*

* This brave man died some weeks after.

were,

were, begin their fire; and endeavour, as much as possible, to draw part of the enemy's attention from our suffering friends. The orders were immediately obeyed; bearing close under the Fougueux's stern, and getting upon her larboard quarter, began her fire: some of which, I think, fell with success, tho' I cannot absolutely ascertain it. — There were shells on which I kept my eye for a great way, and immediately, in the same direction, I saw execution done; but I shall not absolutely ascribe to her, that which others gave to the Fire Drake.†

Mean time the commodore, impatient, seeing the Nassau did not, or could not, bear away to the relief of the Prince Edward, sent his boat to know the reason why she was detained in bearing down into her station.—Captain Sayer observing the boat approach him, ran to his gallery, and hailing the officer, ask'd him if his orders were, he should bear away?—The messenger answer'd, the commodore wonder'd he did not.—On which it is said, how far true I know not, that captain Sayer answer'd, he had expected a signal or further orders to that purpose. I believe, that most of the captains understood the commodore's orders.—I am not acquainted with the gentleman, but those that are say, in commands he is always calm and distinct. And without hurting captain Sayer, or diminishing in the least from his courage, which is unblameable, one may venture to say, that in his hurry he had perhaps not been so attentive as he ought. There are those who may be ill-natur'd enough to say, that in time of action, mistakes are far from being well suited—but those who live at home may talk of dangers with coolness, having never seen any: while at the same time, 'tis a wonder the very bravest of heroes on such occasions, are half so distinct as they are. But however these things are, this officer was still more unfortunate: for after his anchor was up, his ship was so long in wearing, that betwixt the enemy's first fire, and the Nassau's taking their attention from the Prince Edward, it was little short of thirty minutes—But when she came, the satisfaction was ample; and the first losses were sufficiently recompenc'd.

† I wish only that from this misfortune, our commanders may in the future add to their book of signals, such as may be of service to bombs on a like occasion, since ships at a distance may know better than the bombardiers, when their shells fall too wide or too short of the mark.

The Nassau and Dunkirk came down together in their stations. The fire of the former was remarkably brisk, but not so well aim'd ; insomuch, that her shot went mostly thro' the roofs of the houses, and while some took place, many went intirely over the island ; and, as is said, by some in the fleet, flew over the Fougueux's stern and the Furnace bomb as they were getting into their station. I know not indeed how such a thing could well happen. — These shot, I myself imagin'd, came from the north point battery, and were pointed for the Furnace bomb : I stood with a glass in the gallery, thro' the whole of the action ; and was pretty certain, not only from the velocity and whizzing noise of the bullets in the air as they past me, but also from the fire and smoke upon that battery, which I thought I could depend upon, that they came from the enemy and not the Nassau. — I have been since told, (with what truth I know not) from one of their principal officers, major Lambert, that they did not fire at all from that place ; or at least with any design upon that ship and bomb. But waving disputes of this nature, captain Sayer's fire, was itself enough to strike terror ! Captain Digby in the Dunkirk, did not fire with near the briskness of the Nassau, but with more success — not a gun was fir'd before it was pointed ; and every shot did execution.

The winds now, as the sun grew warm, began to lull ; greatly hindering both the commodore's ship, and the Fougueux, from getting down so early as they wish'd : besides which, a signal was at this time put abroad for the captain of the Furnace bomb ; who, to come under the Torbay's stern, run athwart the Fougueux's lee bow, greatly to our mortification, as it prov'd not a little hindrance to us in our progress, when by the lulling of the winds we could least spare it. Captain Knight storm'd a little on the occasion, and could not help abruptly hailing the bomb to know for what reason he ran in his way, when he must see him getting into his station. — But what could be done, but to be patient ; he could not run down a friend ; and indeed our assistance was but little needed when we came, farther than the sight of a ship hard upon them, whose warm force they very well knew (being once their own property), and ready to pour forth all her vengeance upon her old acquaintance, might have prov'd an inducement to their more speedy surrender ; for the fury of the Torbay alone, seem'd sufficient to have raz'd the very founda-
tions

tions of the island itself. Nor is it to be wonder'd at, considering the advantage of her situation—the commodore having brought up with so much alacrity and judgement, abreast of the angles of both the west point battery and St. Francis fort, that when he was moor'd the enemy could not bring a gun from thence to bear upon him. Five guns only could have touch'd him with advantage from the whole island, *i. e.* two from St. Peter's, and the three guns on the small lunette on the hill, as you go up to St. Michael's (see the plan, plate VI.); both which had been, and still were so well warm'd by the other ships, that, being by that time deserted, she had her battery to attack with hardly any opposition.—Tho' indeed, had they had it in their powers, the fire from the Torbay was so terrible, so near, and, as I told you in a former short account of this action, so well aim'd, that none but madmen could have stood it.—That ship was in one continu'd blaze of fire; and that part of the island itself upon which she lay, was darken'd with a cloud of smok, sand, and earth, to a degree wonderful!

I could have with'd the winds for one reason, tho' a selfish one, would have permitted the ship I was in to have got down two or three minutes sooner—but being unmolested with smok, noise, and confusion, I was made amends on another account, as it happen'd. Many hundreds of negroes lining the opposite shore, to see the engagement and inspire the disputants; ships bearing down under topsails only, against stone walls; receiving the fire of the enemy with an undaunted resolution, even to holding them unworthy a return; and following a behaviour of this kind, with that fierceness natural to intrag'd British sailors, was a scene too awful, too grand for description!

We are told that the French, the better to encourage their slaves, and to draw in the free negroes to a more cheerful assistance, had painted the English in colours the most shocking; inasmuch that those very people, terrified to fall into our hands, prick'd up the soldiers with lances, reproaching them with the names of cowards and poltroons, when they themselves were the first who fled from their quarters—several of whom, carrying tidings to the governor in St. Michael's fort, that it was impossible to keep the soldiers longer against a fire not to be withstood; were sent back with

this message, *Every man to his quarters on pain of death.* It is added too; that soon after, some officers bringing the governor the like accounts, while they argued with M. St. Jean on the matter, another account was brought him that three boats had already landed, or were landing forces on the island. How far credit could be given to a story of this kind, is not mine to say—their own smock was the only thing could hinder such an operation from being seen; that, had not for some time before this been very considerable; no ship's boat had been sent from the fleet, not even from one ship to another; and how they could seek to screen themselves under a pretence of this sort, was not only weak but ridiculous: nevertheless, it seems the governor was then prevail'd upon to strike his flag, which came down in a very slovenly manner, as captain Knight in the Fougueux was about to drop his anchor: and happy for both they did so, as the commodore was that instant ordering a signal for the Furnace bomb to come close under him in the Torbay, and to fire from his mortars grape shot of pound balls amongst the enemy; as also, the signal for the military in the boats to proceed to execution.

Mr. Keppel, in the midst of noise and smock, did not very early perceive the silence of the enemy; and at last, only suspected they had struck from the silence of the rest of the Squadron about him; for by the time he could slacken his fire, so as to look around him, not a Frenchman was to be seen but those who were running, or rather flying, to the cover of the castle on the hill. Upon which he immediately sent a lieutenant, attended by his secretary, to wait upon the governor on the island; but, before they got from the boat, were met by M. St. Jean on the beach, who ask'd them, *On what terms the honourable Mr. Keppel propos'd he should surrender?*—They were surpriz'd at the question, and ask'd him again, *If his flag was not already struck?*—He answer'd, *No: he meant it no other than as a signal for a parley.*—He being told upon that, that the commodore would hear of no terms but his own; answer'd, *If that was the case, he was sufficiently prepar'd, and knew how to defend himself.*—To which the others replied, *That the commodore had brought up in a situation that no gun could harm him, and minded little if they should stand out for a month:* and putting off the boat, left

left him this signal; *That the moment the commodore should fire one gun over the island, they might begin again when they pleas'd.*

In the mean time Mr. Keppel, little suspecting such a procedure, had made a signal for all lieutenants. I had myself (supposing the hurry and confusion of the ship's duty was over) come from the gallery to the deck; and was more attentively, than before, viewing their batteries, wondering at the same time how, with all the guns I could discern, they could keep a fire so warm as they did; when, thro' some of the embrasures or openings of the town, I perceiv'd a small regimental flag fly about in great haste, towards different quarters; a drum at that instant too, being heard to beat to arms—and observing at the same time, that as the fly of the flag on the citadel was kept hanging over the wall, it was possible the affair was not yet over, captain Knight approv'd the thought; but had hardly consulted with his master, if it was not possible to bring his ship to have a fairer side to the enemy, if it should so happen, when, on a sudden the commodore sent off the lieutenants to their respective ships, who came in obedience to the signal; and agreeably to that left with the enemy, he fir'd one gun over the island, and immediately after gave them a whole broadside—the other ships firing guns, more or less, according as they had them in readiness; for before the rest of the Squadron could get their guns reprim'd, M. St. Jean finding it impossible to keep his soldiers to their quarters, was oblig'd to drop the regimental colours over the walls, as a signal of surrendry—And about noon, or a little after, the commodore sent a party of his marines on shore, who took possession of the island; the governor surrendering himself and garrison prisoners at discretion: and marching up to fort St. Michael, hoisted the British colours, ending the ceremony with three huzza's from the battlements of the citadel, by the foot of the flag-staff.

C H A P. VI.

Of the losses, sustain'd on both sides.—Of the island, how far it was in a state of defence.—An Account of the island; its situation, soil, strength; and of things of value found in their stores.

OUR losses on this occasion were but very inconsiderable;—in all, about twenty men kill'd and about seventy wounded. The master of the Nassau was the only officer kill'd in the action, and of whose death there is told a remarkable circumstance.—He saw, or it seems thought he saw, a gun on the shore pointed at him, to avoid which, going to another part of the deck, a bullet from another gun tore him into pieces, scattering his bowels about the ship; and, if I remember aright, broke at the same time a speaking trumpet in captain Sayer's hand: only one man in the whole being lost to us by accident, who in ramming down a charge, the gun went off, and, tearing away the port, carried the man along with it.

But of the losses of the enemy, accounts are somewhat dark. About four o'clock in the afternoon the prisoners were brought on board the ships of war, to the number of about two hundred and seventy men; some of them drunk and bruised by falls, and others slightly wounded but able to take care of themselves: and farther than these, and one negroe kill'd by a piece of a shell, they say they sustain'd no damage from the ships,—not one man being kill'd by our cannon; which, if so, there is the greater scandal in their surrendry. Certain it is, there were only three men who were wounded in such a manner as to be sent to the hospital; one having lost a leg, another an arm, and the third being wounded by a musquet-shot in the right breast.—A twenty-four pounder, upon the north point battery, being over-charg'd with various kinds of shot, burst; rendering, as they humour the story, twenty of their men unserviceable: and on the west corner of St. Francis fort, towards the north, another gun of eighteen pound burst, giving the same fate to eight more. Now 'tis well known, that we found very few who were really unserviceable; and if the French, in their rhodomontade, did
not

not use the word unserviceable for dead, it was cruel in them to throw their wounded fellow creatures into the sea. It is a general custom with the French, as much as possible, to deny and make light of their losses; tho' I know not on what principle of politics it is founded—I soon after perceiv'd their church-yard full of new graves: and sure it would tend much more to their honour to confess their slaughter at once, than to say they surrender'd with the loss of one man only.

It must be observ'd at the same time, that several circumstances concurr'd to facilitate the capture of the island by the English: first, altho' they expected a second visit from Britain, well knowing of what small advantage Senegal would prove, while they were in possession of the fortrefs of Goree: and tho' they had even heard that commodore Keppel was appointed to command a squadron on that service, yet had they not the smallest expectations of seeing us sooner than the month of March. So that altho' they had plann'd to the number (they say) of fifteen new batteries, a few only (I think five) had been made fit to obstruct an enemy; and which too, unluckily for them, happened to be on that side we chose not to attack.—To these I may add, the scum of all France, as the enemy we had to engage; and they, withal, to be defended. For tho' there were some, who, thro' misfortunes, and accidents of shameful, perhaps dangerous natures, had come to the torrid zone by a voluntary exile; and who beg'd hard afterwards to be receiv'd into the British service, rather than be sent prisoners to France, and who no doubt, for that very reason, would have done their utmost to prevent a surrendry: yet there were others, and indeed the greatest part, who, being either transports who could not return by law, or *grand tour* men who were long 'ere this tir'd of their situation, and wishing for any opportunity to be releas'd, would enter into the pay of the Dutch, the Dane, or English, as soon as to be of service to their mother country. Besides which, I have been present at several disputes, and warm ones too, in which Pere Rival, a sensible Dominican friar, made no hesitation in giving it as his opinion, in opposition to one of their principal officers *, that they themselves behaved not so well as might have been expected.

* Major Lambert.

This island, formerly call'd by the natives Barzaquiche or Befaquiche, was in 1617 yielded to the Dutch, by Biram (a king in those parts), which they kept until 1663, that commodore Holmes took it from them. In 1664, De Ruyter oblig'd governor Abercromby to deliver it again to its former owners: and in thirteen years after (1677) count d'Estrees, with eleven sail of French men of war, took it from governor Hopfac; which, notwithstanding several attempts from the Dutch, has remain'd ever since with the French 'till now. It is an island situated in the latitude of fourteen degrees forty-one minutes north, and seventeen degrees twenty minutes west longitude from London; about eight leagues to the S. E. of cape Verde, turning cape Emanuel; and within about three miles of the main continent (see plate V.). From cape Emanuel, the land trenches away N. E. & E. forming two bays; in the largest of which, and opposite to the island of Goree, lay the transports with the regular forces: and from thence, with a large sweep easterly, carried off to S. and S. S. E. forms one intire large bay or roadstead, where there is good ground and regular soundings, from ten to eighteen fathoms; shoaling gradually to the main land, and permitting you to run in boldly to the island within thirty fathoms, at six fathoms water.

Altho' there are stones and rocks, seemingly foul, almost round the island, yet there is good anchoring on soft ground, at five and six fathoms, within thirty fathoms of the island; excepting, first, in Goree bay, which will admit small vessels only until you are open with the head-lands, where there is deep water: secondly, at the point where the Torbay was placed, there is a shoal runs out about one hundred and twenty fathoms before there is deep water: thirdly, below the bombardiers apartments, in a line with the flag-staff of St. Michael, another shoal runs out forty fathoms: and off from the S. W. point, and within twenty fathoms of the island, at low water, the sea breaks over a rock. (See plan VI.)

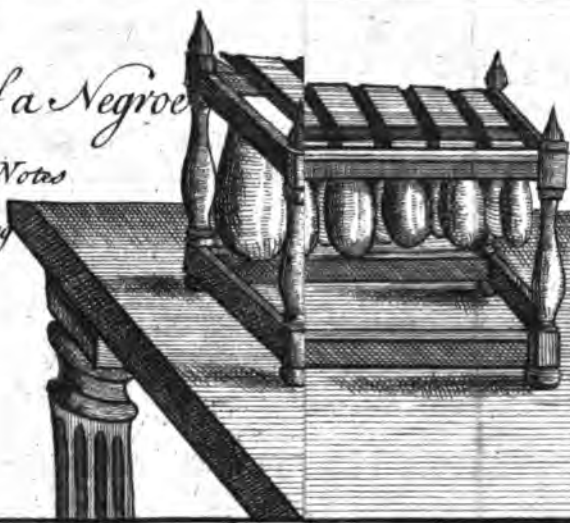
The island itself is about three quareers of a mile in length, somewhat more than a third of its length in breadth, and in its figure resembling nothing so much as a ham of bacon (see plate VI.) In its perspective form it is low and even, except towards the S. W. end, where it rises into a sort of rocky hill, upon which is situated the fort of St. Michael (see plate VII.). This hill has been hitherto represented



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represented so very high, that no piece of cannon could be brought to bear upon the citadel above, from any ship or battery below; but, in reality, is so far otherways, that either the Torbay or Fougueux, from the places in which they lay, could have reduced it to ashes.—As to the Fougueux, I am very certain that where she lay, at about one hundred and thirty or one hundred and forty fathoms from the shore, she could have fired over the citadel, without raising her guns more than three or four degrees above the common elevation.

The soil of the island is very bad; yet here and there are seen a few sprigs of grass, altho' it boasts not of verdure.—The hill is a sort of iron ore, which I learn'd from the following accident:—taking a ship's compass on shore, thereby hoping to take a few angles to determine the form of the island, I soon found the needle had not been at liberty: the sides of my angles would not yield to the protractor, and I was at last oblig'd to use the theodolite.—The needle inclines to the N.W. and will differ a dozen degrees in one place more than another. A day or two after the full and change of the moon is the highest and lowest tides, which rarely rise above six feet. The west side of the rock is very remarkable, rising up in small perpendicular columns, uniform in their breadth, and generally about eight, twelve, or sixteen inches; altho' there are others much less, and some considerably greater in the diameters. The soil of the lower part of the island, is little better—It is indeed firm, without that heaviness of sand so common in this climate, which makes walking extremely disagreeable: and in this island is also a very cheerful parade for that purpose. But alas, excepting the pine-apple, and but a few more comforts of this country kind, their gardens, of which they have but two, are miserable! There are here two fountains, or, more properly speaking, draw wells, which, by the extream heat of the country, and the difficulty of coming at better, may be thought tolerable; but otherways, even by the brute creation in England, would hardly be look'd at. There are besides these one more, and which may more properly claim the name of a fountain, in a cleft of a rock towards the south; which M. St. Jean kept under lock and key, for the use of his family and friends—'Tis a kind of spring distill'd from the rocks, partaking in part the mineral taste, and is a little and but a little better than the others. They have moreover cisterns dug, which, in the seasons of rain, re-

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tain some store of aerial distillation as their choicest blessing : and besides these, the two briggs already taken notice of, are sometimes oblig'd to bring from the continent, water as well as wood.

As for the other comforts of life, the French being in good terms with the natives, altho' the island be extreamly barren of itself, they were very plentifully supplied from the neighbouring towns, with all such roots and vegetables as the country affords ;—poultry, venison, fish, and the like ; and were happy enough to have a constant stock of two or three hundred head of horned cattle grazing in the nearest pasturage : but of this more hereafter.

There are in the island, besides the French natives, upwards of three hundred free negroes, inhabiting the plain on the south ; and who indeed live in a manner wonderfully neat and decent—their village itself is a curiosity for regularity. In their tempers they are sociable ; in their genius, tractable to a miracle ; and so sensible are they of a proper or improper behaviour us'd towards them, that they will become of service or disservice accordingly. By an easy and gentle treatment they are won to any thing, while the least insolent usage may endanger the throats of most of our soldiery, and render the lives of all irksome and miserable.

And in this age of warlike improvement, for the purpose alone of keeping the negroes in subjection, can I conceive the use of their two forts St. Michael and St. Francis ; or, as the Dutch first call'd them, Nassau on the Hill and fort Orange. The strength of the former being only with respect to its being a battery in barbet, by which its few guns can be brought to any quarter ; for unless to frighten the negroes, by a momentary stroke, it is entirely destitute of shelter in case of a siege, which the Dutch found to their cost in 1677 : there is upon it only one poor house, hardly proof against a musquet-shot, mounting only six guns, and scarcely room for any more, altho' P. Labat says in 1697 it mounted twenty-four ; nor could the whole citadel contain more than three hundred men, were they squeez'd together as in a croud. As for that of St. Francis, altho' the same historian says it mounted twenty-eight guns, it mounts in fact only twelve ; I believe it never did mount more ; and I look upon it rather as a sort of company's warehouse, wall'd about to prevent being plunder'd, than any place of real defence ; all which

Pere

Pere Labat calls impregnable *. The fortifications below ; and of them, those of the latest date, of which are the Negroe batteries, St. Philip, the Grand, the Bomb, and the North-point batteries, are the only places of consideration : and even in those, art is very much wanted thro' the whole, to give it a real strength against a squadron, or fleet of force.

On the batteries, such as they are, there were before the action one hundred and ten pieces mounted, and mostly capable of service ; only, the salute battery being extremely small, can hardly be reckon'd in the number, unless against landing of boats in the bay. Of the above number there are three brass mortars,—two of them plac'd on an eight gun battery, near North-point, are of ten inches diameter, and made for the company in 1757 ;—the other, situated on the four gun lunette on the hill, is of thirteen ;—and to these a fourth, of iron, and of a form very antique, ten inches, was situated in the fort of St. Michael. Amongst the pieces of ordinance found here, I must not forget one plac'd on the fort of St. Francis, towards the landing-place ;—a long brass cannon of a small bore, towards the middle of which is engrav'd the illustrious name of *Elizabeth regina*, and nearer the touch-hole it bears the maker's name, — *Thomas Pit made this pece 1589*. It was taken from the English by the Dutch, taken from the Dutch by the French, and is once more in the possession of its original owners. Of other warlike stores, as I mention'd before, they had the greatest profusion. Nor was it a little surprizing to see barrels and chests full of loose powder and cartridges, open and expos'd to the sultry sun in every corner ; and loaded shells ready for execution, without the smallest care, scatter'd about over all the island. While I trod amongst them, I will confess it gave me pain.—Nor do I suppose the French are altogether unsusceptible of danger ; only that this may be given as an instance how unguarded they were, and how much unprepar'd and confus'd for want of time.

Besides these, there were taken two brigs and two sloops. One of the brigs was bought into his majesty's service, call'd the Goree,

* Our author, tho' he differs in this from P. Labat, gives nearly the same account with the sieur le Maire, printed at Paris in 1695.

C H A P. VII.

Of the nature, soil, produce, &c. of the adjacent continent.—Of the difficulty the squadron met in getting fresh provisions and water from the negroes.—With the transactions of the squadron at Goree, until their arrival at Senegal.

LOOKING upon the main land — no mountains; no rising grounds to be seen, the Paps of cape Verd excepted; a beautiful verdure perpetually preserv'd on trees, which, at a distance, seem stately and awful in their shade; with a beautiful white beach all along the coast, intermixt in its view by a delightful looking soil, a red and sometime yellow earth, gently raising itself above the level, promis'd somewhat more than common, and made me long to set my foot on Afric shore. But alas, getting thither, I was greatly disappointed! — The moment the foot leaves the beach, harden'd by the constant wash of the sea, the next step is plung'd into dry, heavy, and loose sand; which generally takes one over the shoes, and filling them with sand, makes walking extremely disagreeable.

Willing however to see something of the country, and seeing a negro cross a little rivulet, directing his course to the inlands, I was prevail'd upon by curiosity to take the same course; but going out of the way, if possible to find a narrower passage to cross the rivulet, I was imperceptibly drawn into a thicket of trees, overgrown with underwood. In this situation, snakes and aligators (being near the rivulet, which in low water might become fresh) were what gave me most uneasiness: but I had hardly got above two miles and a half from the sea, when my ears were accosted with a noise so uncommon and tremendous, that I began very earnestly to wish myself from whence I came.—I had a great way to go back; the noise could not be far from me; and a glimmering of open air, appearing a little a-head, induc'd me to continue my course, with the addition only of a little more haste; and in a quarter of an hour I got into opener ground, where I had the satisfaction of seeing at some little distance two negroes, one of them arm'd with a musquet and sabre, the other with a bow and lance.—I did not much admire making such
ac-

acquaintances, in a place so wild and solitary; but so circumstanced, the figure of a human creature was alleviating. They behaved too, in the end, wonderfully civil—They have, on this coast, a very uncouth dialect; nor from any tone or change of the voice, can a stranger distinguish when they soothe, or when they threaten: when they see a stranger at a distance, they stop sometimes and call him to them; which, while it alarms the one, is done by the other purely to avoid the giving of bad apprehensions; imagining they give less uneasiness to a stranger by that method, than were they themselves to make up to them, or follow after. Knowing the little acquaintance Europeans have with their language, they are also in their conversations oblig'd to use motions and actions to be understood, which sometimes adds greatly to a stranger's apprehensions and alarms; such as, for example, upon their wanting to know if he has got anything curious to shew, or to sell them, they will put their hands into his pockets, and will even pull things from thence. But I at this time found, and had afterwards frequent opportunities to convince myself, that their intentions were far from being bad; and never refused to let them search me as much as they pleas'd.—I have even permitted them to take the ring from my finger, which after looking at it and putting it on their's, have return'd it with satisfaction, and not a little pleas'd with the trust put in them. I mention these in particular, because others of our people, forming different and disadvantageous opinions of their principles from their unpolish'd manners, have behaved to them with a cavalier roughness, which, striking them with silence and astonishment, has, I am afraid, sow'd the seeds of an indifferent understanding betwixt us, from our earliest acquaintance. But to return from this, I hope not improper, digression. My two new acquaintances had been looking out for game, of which there are here great plenty, such as partridges, turtle-doves, wood-pigeons, pintado or Guinea fowls, hares, deer, roebuck, &c. &c. And altho' they had not, as at that time, got enough to return home withal, yet were so obliging (for a little biscuit) as to part company, that one of them might conduct me back to the town of Beeng; at which place I arriv'd after a circuit of six or seven miles, where meeting a marabout or priest, who spoke French, I learn'd that a tyger had come down to those parts two nights before, and had already destroy'd one of his townsmen.

You

You may imagine, after this, I did not any more venture into the woods by myself.—I went however, in company with negroes, and once with some English gentlemen, to several parts of the continent, but could not meet with any thing that afforded me great satisfaction.

The soil, tho' a little firmer, the farther you go into the country, is at best sandy, full of cockle shells, mix'd here and there with long, coarse, parch'd grass; and if not with trees, is almost overgrown with shrubs. The Palm-tree, in various species, (fig. 4. and 6. plate 4.) indeed raises their heads from different quarters to diversify the scene; with them too I may mention the calabash and the Pappau; (fig. 10. and 7. plate 4.) and in particular a tree whose fruit the negroes call monkeys-Bread, adds to the whole a kind of grandeur. This tree is frequently found seven or eight feet in diameter at the root; which tapering for ten or twelve, to a diameter of three, four, or five feet, it then branches out into a great breadth as well as height, (fig. 1. plate 4.) In the summer they bear a broad leaf, somewhat like the maple in shape; but in the winter, at which time I saw them, there is nothing remaining but the fruit, which the negroes as well as monkeys use. (fig. 2. plate 4.)

The fruit itself is usually about twelve inches in length; at the middle it is about four or five inches diameter, gradually carried off to a point. Its skin is thick, hard like a shell, and covered with a coarse green down like velvet. Within, the pulp is not unlike a fine white Sugar-cake, intermixed with great quantities of seed, somewhat resembling that of the tamarind: and in its taste has a very agreeable tartness.

There is also here, another remarkable tree, of the same appearance with the other in every thing, excepting the fruit, which are from one to about two feet in length; about three, four, or five inches in diameter, rounding off at the extrem ends: has a green skin like a melon; and like them too full of seed, of a white colour ting'd with yellow; the pulp white ting'd with green, and somewhat firmer than a melon; which hang from the branches on small strings of half an inch diameter, to the lengths of twelve, twenty, and thirty feet, (fig. 3. plate 4.) It were an easy thing to multiply, if not from knowledge, at least from books; but that is the source from whence most of our histories are rendered ridiculous and obscure. I have, for instance, read of trees a gun shot in height, and the like: I believe there are no such

such trees——I saw none at least——and shall not say any thing but what I had from the best information or personal knowledge.

A lover of natural history might be here very agreeably entertained with numberless trees, shrubs, plants, and roots; but it will be highly necessary for the naturalist, to become first well acquainted with the country in general, and to cultivate in particular a good understanding with some of the most sensible and best skill'd of the natives; and not in that loose way, that voyagers generally pick up their information.

I took notice before, how dismal a place the island of Goree was, for want of the common comforts of life —— and indeed this part of the continent is not greatly better. The common products are the millet, or maez, a sort of small grain pounded and made into either sanglet, or kuskus, a kind of bread much us'd by the negroes; the indian corn, the Banana, or Plantin, the kidney bean of various kinds, the pine apple, the cacao nut, the guava tree, the lime and lemon trees, citrons, dates, tamarinds, yamms, melons, honey, palm wines in varieties; and some few others of a still lesser value to Europeans, are there to be had; and by humouring the negroes, may be brought to the island as to a market.

There are there also many fair looking herbs; but the negroes have no notion of fallads, and the Europeans seem indolent about finding out their virtues, whether good or bad.

But what yields the most constant and delicious repast, is the element around them. I have seen in the bay, to the east of the town of Beeng, as many fish taken with the seyne, in two hours, as would fully satisfy a thousand men, some of which are remarkably good, as there are others surprizingly beautiful.

The first of those remarkable, is the rock cod: it has a large eye swelling over the surface of the head, full three quarters of an inch; is of a dark brown mixed with red, clumsily formed, but excellent in eating. Of others, there are the king fish; the bass, some of which weigh'd sixty and seventy pounds; the turtle also is there to be found, with many others, too common to mention.

The cavally may also be reckoned beautiful: it is white, with a blue tinge on the back; next the head it is somewhat of a deeper
I blue;

blue, and like the skip-jack its scales are not discernible, having rather a sort of skin like an eel.

There are in plenty a fish call'd the silver fish—of the same breadth as length; and very thin; it has a beautiful white scale, mix'd with blue and green on the back; has generally five black belts; and is particular in a false mouth which it shoots out for about half an inch, as occasion requires.

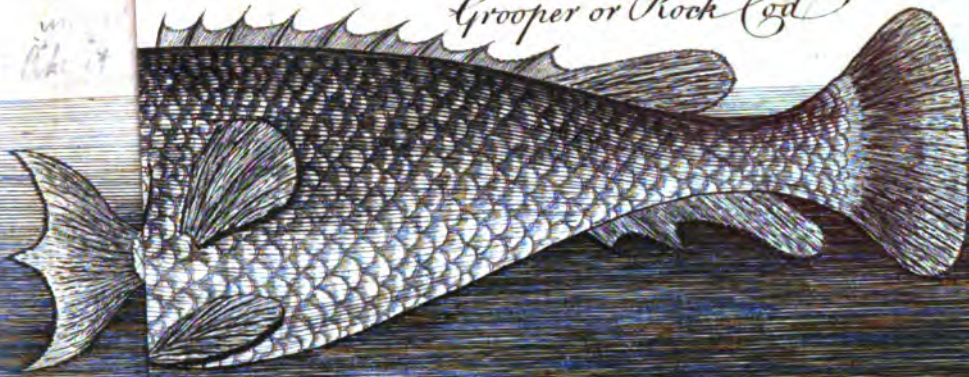
We found likewise the bream of a beautiful scarlet, with blue spots on the side of its head, and red eyes: and being near the Pargas bank, there are plenty of the fish known by that name.

One in particular, caught by a line in the road of Goree, must not be forgot.—In its mouth, which is small, are a sort of teeth, which were it not from a small division in the middle of the mouth, would be one entire tooth from side to side; some from thence have call'd it the rabbit fish: and from whence it appears, that even the shell fish secured in their dens, are not here without an enemy. It has a belly of a flabby nature, which can be stretch'd to a great compass, and which is white and rough; its back is a deep green, and about the middle betwixt the back and belly is a stripe of white tinctur'd with green; near the mouth it is speckled with yellow; the joint of the side fin, and the tips of the tail are of a beautiful blue; it has no scales, and I am told, but I believe without reason, that it must be guarded against, being poisonous.

There are also, what is called the skip jack or yellow tail, not much unlike a mackarel in taste and shape, but can hardly be said to have scales; it is beautifully variegated with yellow, green, azure, purple, and white; its head shines like silver burnished; and has a remarkable small black spot near the gills.

There are likewise the common sea Tygers, in abundance, I mean the shark and baracutta; so that a stranger in those parts, will do well to be careful how he swims, for the latter of whom, constantly fly to a man's middle: and also, how he wades amongst the fishes while the seyne is hauling a-shore, because the tyger and the com-

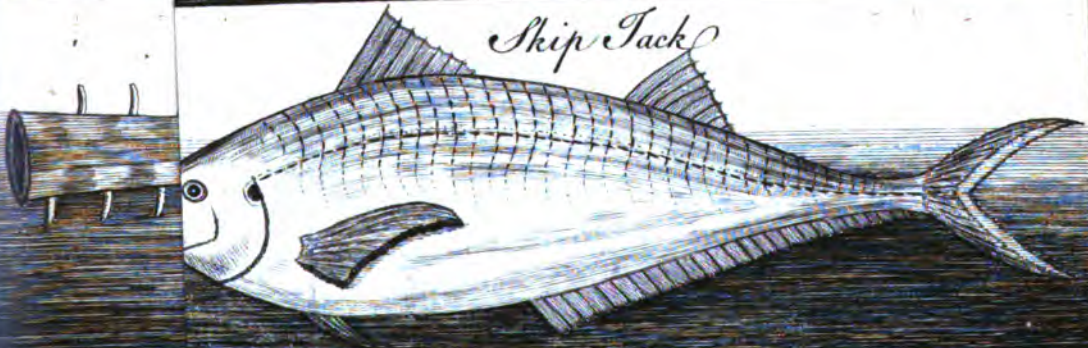
Grooper or Rock Cod



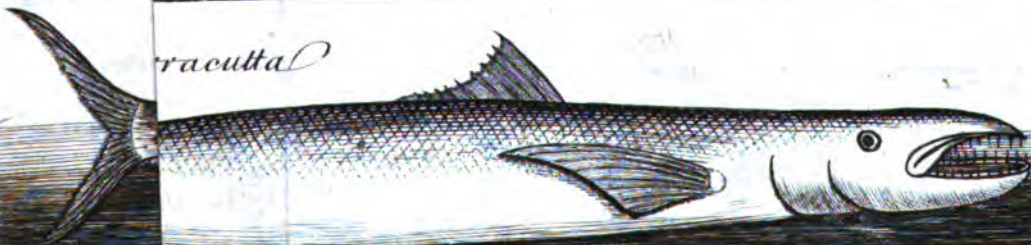
Pargus



Skip Jack



Tracutta



common sharks are frequently drawn ashore with the other fish. Care must be also us'd, to oblige the negroes, nor refuse them a part of the draught, which they expect as their due, and will wait upon him for that purpose. (See fishes, plate VIII.).

But it is now time to return to the squadron. Having spent the remainder of the day, or rather the evening of the day, after the action, in making indifferent quarters as agreeable to our prisoners as possible, we rested till the following day before we chang'd our anchorage.

At ten o'clock on the twenty-ninth, the signal was made to weigh; when turning the south end of the island we anchor'd once more in Goree road, within a mile of the island; the citadel bearing S. S. W. and our depth of water ten fathom.

And now, to the reducing the fortrefs on Goree; the next thing which took up the commodore's attention, was to carry the squadron home, that it might as soon as possible be of further service to his country. For which purpose, as far as was in his power, he turn'd himself to avoid all unnecessary delays—especially to keep, if possible, from going to water at St. Jago. But in this there were difficulties to be surmounted.

Formerly, when captain Marth paid this island a visit, being in want of water, he sent on shore to the continent if possible to obtain some—But the negroes very frankly told him, that as they were in peace and friendship with the subjects of France, they could not with any face of justice supply or cherish their enemies: but as soon as he should make himself master of Goree, he should find them as faithful and serviceable to the subjects of Britain, as they had hitherto been to the French.

But at this time, altho' the fort of Goree was in our possession; like a coy maid, when one objection is remov'd, they fly to another.—They must next be brib'd. The cadì wou'd by no means permit of our coming ashore either for water or refreshments, unless a dashy or present, was made to their prince; one of the jalof kings, and, who is call'd (I think) Buiram. Upon which several palavers (for so they call conferences) ensued; and in which, M. Du Chome became, as was said, of some use to the squadron; tho' as to myself, I never could learn in what.—He spoke French 'tis true; but fifty besides him in

the squadron could do the same: and the secret abhorrence the natives could not help having for this man, not only as a murderer and a traitor to his natural prince, but as the enemy of M. St. Jean, must rather have detained than forwarded our business.

But besides water, considering how long our people had liv'd upon salt provisions, another grand article was fresh meat; in which there were also some difficulties to surmount.—The French, as I have already taken notice of, had in some neighbouring pasturage upwards of three hundred head of cattle, the company's property, which the negroes unjustly seiz'd as theirs; and the English at that time, glad of any sort of fresh provisions, they sold them at their own price: oblig'd us to take even calves, or little older, mixing also with them the lean and ill thriven of their own herds; and albeit one with another, they weigh'd not more than an hundred and sixty weight, yet five bars of iron, or twenty-five shillings sterling in value, was the price we were obliged to give for each, or want. They were indeed, altho' not fat, very well tasted; had a white fine grain, and such as were young were very tender and delicate. I wish I could give future voyagers, as good a character of their water.—The watering place is about a mile from the town of Beeng, to the east, and near about one quarter of that distance from the shore, in a muddy swampy ground.—The method that has been taken to obtain water, and to preserve it for use in this place, is by sinking casks into the marshy ground, having one end taken out, and the other, together with the sides, pierced full of holes; by means of which, the water strain'd as thro' a cullender, fills tolerably quick, (having plenty of these drains:) and altho' at first it looks white, is muddy, and earthy tasted, by the quick drawing it from the drains, yet the mud considerably subsides by keeping, and will amend greatly both in taste and colour.—It is certainly wholesome, as the natives use no other; yet to prevent bad consequences to people unus'd with such sort, we put the loggerhead red hot into every cask of water: and which I reckon, will be no improper caution to others. Waterers too (if they choose not to be us'd ill, or perhaps kept prisoners) must be careful every turn they make with their boats, to carry with them a bottle of brandy—That, the cadi, or his substitute for him, constantly exacts as his perquisite, altho' it is given out, as a custom due to their king; and the substitute, following a good example, is seldom pleas'd if he has not a dram and a piece of biscuit for himself.

self. This is all they demand; it is the same for the largest boat as the smallest: and is a toll very well bestow'd. The substitute was a constant attendant; and as he told me, having orders to punish with immediate death, such of his people as should unjustly abuse the English; he preserved a great deal of decency and good behaviour betwixt both people, during the whole time of our watering; which was finish'd on Wednesday the tenth of January.

During which time the squadron on board, were employ'd in sending part of the troops on shore to Goree; in repairing the damages receiv'd by the enemy's shot; taking the mortars from the ketches, on board the great ships, to make them more lively on the seas; and otherways cleaning the bottoms of the whole to fit them for our return. At which time too, on the island, was open'd a public sale; such a one was at least ordered by the commodore; for disposing of such of the merchandizes as might be of future use to those officers and soldiers, who were destin'd to be left behind us: and it had been better it had been managed as publicly as it was design'd: on the contrary, I will answer for the gentlemen on board the Fougueux and Prince Edward, that all the negro boys were dispos'd of before they knew such a sale was to have been.—But this is to be put to the ignorance or mean designs of clerks only.

My remarks more distant are as follows. On Sunday the thirty-first of December, a snow came into the road of Goree from Senegal; bringing accounts; that the garrison there was grown very thin, both on account of natural deaths and slaughter; and were at the same time in melancholy circumstances for want of provisions. — On the third of January, the Saltash sloop was dispatch'd to Britain, with the news of the action; by which we had the pleasure of sending our letters to our friends. — On the fifth, two sails appearing in the offing, the commodore sent to the governor of Goree, to hoist the French colours on the citadel, which all the squadron also did; and the Fougueux and Fire Drake, slipping their cables put out to sea; but could then perceive no more than one sail; a Dane bound south, who after being brought to the commodore and search'd, was immediately dismissed on her voyage; the other being no more than a negroe canoe, many of which have two masts, and carry two coarces (or lower sails) and two top sails.

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On the same day sail'd also three transports under cartel, to France, with the prisoners and their baggage, taken at Goree : and on the same evening, captain Knight in particular, received an order to lay at single anchor, to be in a constant readiness to slip and chace upon future occasions : when on the ninth, we again gave chace, bringing in the Escortte sloop, from Sanaga.—She had no other news than what we had heard before ; and which at that time too, we had confirm'd by the arrival of a lady from Sanaga, who had been driven thither over land, by meer want !

On the eleventh and twelfth, we were employ'd in bringing on board the squadron, such of the bale goods, &c. as did not sell at the auction before mention'd ; and on the twelfth about noon, we bad farewell to Goree ; Major Newton, the governour, saluting the commodore with fifteen guns, was return'd from the Torbay with an equal number.

Our squadron was then reduced to thirteen sail, having left behind us at Goree, the Experiment, the Roman Emperor, and Goree brigg ; and having nothing to stop our return to England, but leaving the remainder of the land forces at Senegal : the commodore gave orders that each ship of war should take a transport in tow, the more speedily to beat up the passage ; and without distinction of ships, or seniority, the best sailer plied the soonest. In five days, that is on the sixteenth, we all reach'd the mouth of the river Sanaga ; which from about the distance of six leagues, in a muddy ground, there are regular soundings from fifty to eight fathoms, being then within about two miles of the bars ; Fort St. Lewis appearing over the land to the north, about N. N. E. Nothing happened in this run remarkable, but the death of the much lamented and unfortunate Lieutenant West on the fourteenth ; by which our king and country have lost a just officer, a brave soldier, and a good man ! *

* Comparing the above observations at Goree, with even the latest French author M. Adenson, we find their descriptions differing widely, an air of rhodomontade running thro' the whole of the French traveller.

CHAP. VIII.

An adventure of our author's, up the river Sanaga or Senegal; in which is describ'd the danger of the bars in its mouth — with directions for steering a course over them.

FROM the time of our arrival at Sanaga, until our departure on the twenty-third, the squadron being employed in sending the troops to Fort St. Lewis; permit me to entertain you during that interval, with an adventure of my own.

You must know first, that in the mouth of the river, there are two bars;—that on the north is often dry at top; and the other, tho' there is water over it, has not more than six or seven feet on many places; making thereby three separate channels, altho' the Sieur Brue, says two only—the north, the middle, and southermost. In the rainy seasons, the freshes come down the river in torrents; insomuch, that the sea has not the least mixture of salt at the very mouth of the river.—Now at such times, if the sea breezes, which generally prevail in the day, are high, or if they shall continue for a day or two, without the usual return of the breezes each night from the land, the impetuosity of the river being thereby curb'd in its course, becomes furious and to a degree terrifying. Even then, altho' the freshes were far spent, and the salt of the sea prevail'd for near twelve miles up the river, yet we saw upon the bars in our short stay there, running seas breaking, and surfs flying, to a height amazing! And altho' few chose to go over those places for pleasure, yet I could not think of leaving the coast of Africa, without seeing some old friends, left there from its first surrender, and who had doubtless, undergone many of those hardships, of which we had dismal accounts. To have an opportunity therefore of a boat going thither with troops, I went on board a tender the 18th, betwixt the hours of four and five in the morning; and about nine o'clock we were all in readiness to put off. Sixteen choice rowers, with a steersman and mate, were sent from the Fougueux to carry up the flat bottom'd boat: but the master of the transport proposing to go up the Sanaga himself in his long boat, I was prevail'd upon to go in company with him, in preference to the loaded flat bottom. The sea winds had blown fresh all the preceeding day; had continued to blow also thro' the night;

night; and at that time the bars look'd so dismal, my skipper was loath to think of putting off.—However, partly in earnest and partly in jesting him on his fears, he was at last prevail'd upon to give it a trial; resolving at the same time to conduct himself by a brother skipper, who had been at an anchor there for six weeks, was curious in his way, and better acquainted with the bars than himself; so putting off he order'd the flat-bottom'd boat to steer to that master's snow which lay in our way, and to windward:—when alas our longboat, which was quite new upon the transports leaving England, and had never been tried or put into the water, could hardly keep herself above without a constant bailing! and what still added to our misery, and could not be so easily help'd was, while we were oblig'd to tack to windward, she three times mist staying, when after all our endeavours, falling bodily to leeward, and in danger of being drove out to the ocean, we were oblig'd to throw out a grappling into the sea, which we luckily had on board, and, lowering our sails, hoisted a sailor's jacket to the mast-head, as a signal of distress! We had nothing else in our power to do, and it was by mere chance we were reliev'd;—for such of the men of war as were near us, easily seeing it was a merchantman's boat, were humane enough to give themselves no sort of trouble about us. I say, by chance; for the commodore having occasion to send on board of this master's transport in particular, for an account of his stores, &c. as the steward was providentially in the boat with us, the midshipman was under a necessity of finding his way thither;—and even then the master could not give him any satisfying reply, unless he were on board his own vessel; but yet to regain which, the midshipman could not give the least assistance, without the permission of his captain. My skipper, however, having happily on board a large jugg of London porter, applied the balsam according to art:—after a hearty swigg or two, my gentleman and his crew became a little more pliant, and giving us a pull as far to windward as the commodore's ship, we had an opportunity of applying to captain Owen for farther assistance: but after a good deal of pain and trouble in getting along-side of the Torbay, that officer, who himself felt not our sufferings, could not be prevail'd upon to take from our uneasiness.—He refus'd not, however, to allow us to make use of the ship's main-yard tackle to unstep off mast, which, with the
water

water was so swell'd in the step, was otherways immovable; and by that means being become of less resistance against the winds, we put off from the ship, when, adding my own strength to the rest of our crew, and broiling for two long hours at the oar, we at last reach'd our transport again; when, having got enough of it for one day, and at the same time seeing other boats making fruitless efforts, we set ourselves down contented, in hopes of better weather soon. My host did what he could to entertain me in the best manner his vessel would allow, and his frankness made amends for a very uncomfortable night.

On the day after, getting the flat-bottom'd boat in readiness, taking the yawl for our use instead of the long-boat, and getting the master, as before mentioned, in a little skiff to pilot us over the bars, we once more set out. Our first course was to the north entry, which is narrow, and where, if there is any strong current of the river or ebbing water, there is no small danger of being carried upon the north bar, which is dry at low water, maugre all the force that can be clap'd to oars, unless the wind is also favourable, which was at that time not at all to be expected,—and therefore a thing, on no account, to be attempted. We row'd next to the middle channel, one look of which abundantly satisfied us, the master of the transport being strongly inclin'd to return from whence he came, looking upon it as presumptuous to approach too nigh. However, after some entreaty, I prevail'd upon him at least to take a look of the south channel, whose only good property is, that, being to leeward, if a boat is cast away, there are hopes she may be drove ashore, where lives may possibly be preserv'd; but upon our approach, we were glad to return again as fast as we could, the middle channel, bad as it was, being far preferable to the south. Having put our helm a-weather, and directed our course to the transport again, we very soon perceiv'd two more flat-bottom'd boats pulling towards the south channel; which induc'd me to plead with the master to lie upon his oars until they came up with us, least it should be said we fled from that which another in our sight might perhaps attempt, and possibly accomplish. He was extremely averse to the proposal, but shame prevented his return. The boats at length coming up with us, and enquiring what we thought of the bars, my skipper answer'd, *So bad, 'twas madness to attempt them;*

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for

for his part he would not : and then he hail'd the officer in his own flat-bottom'd boat, to go on board. By this time being convinc'd that 'twas pure timorousness, or at least the natural backwardness that people who are employ'd by the month, having no honour to lose, have against running their heads into danger ; and seeing the other boats unmindful of what my skipper alledg'd, pursuing their course, I took the liberty to hail the mate of the Fougueux, who commanded in the flat-bottom'd boat, and beg'd him not to keep so far aloof, but to row near us, nor be afraid too soon of the danger.—I applied next to my commander in chief, that he would take heart of grace, and once more take a look of the middle channel.—*God keep him from endangering the lives of so many men ;* was his answer. I told him, people who look'd upon their lives as their country's, must not think of danger when duty call'd them ; and beg'd him to consider, that there was a young gentleman in the flat-bottom'd boat, who tho' he might be partly under his direction, as being in his boat ; yet, as being a king's officer, and belonging to a ship of war, he would suffer no small reproach, was he to turn his back to his duty because the master of a merchantman thought it dangerous. He smil'd, and said it was well for me I was ignorant of my danger—I confess'd the danger, but gave my opinion that it was more terrible in Appearance than in reality ; and that in a few years, should Britain keep possession of the place, an Englishman will think no more of going over those bars, than a Thames waterman does of shooting London Bridge. But my skipper had been thrice cast away upon such places, and knew the danger too well to run upon them for the future.—However, the shocking appearance had wrought such an effect upon his imagination, that, assuring himself no other boat would venture more than himself, he was prevail'd upon to go back to the middle gut, where once more laying on his oars to look at the breakers, he again ask'd his brother master what he thought of the matter. His answer was the same as formerly, to wit, that he could venture without apprehension of consequences in his own boat, which was right, but he knew not what to think of the others ; he was unacquainted with the nature of flat boats ; he believ'd there might be danger ; and did not choose to say farther :—at the same time, if we chose to venture, he left us these directions—to wait close upon the
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the northern breakers, with the purpose to take the middle channel as the safest; and as we observ'd, that after the breaking of one great sea, two or three smaller followed, and then for some minutes after proved smooth; so we would find our account in following hard after the breaking of the great sea, pushing boldly forward; and cautious at the same time of keeping the wreck of a ship (which lies here high and dry on the shore) in a line with a tree on the northern declivity of a little white sandy hill:—with which directions he left us, saying at the same time that as there were but small hopes of crossing the bars that day, he should have a dinner ready for us on our return. But now seeing the flat-bottom'd boats before mentioned, returning from the south to join us at the middle channel, we push'd in our yaul close upon the northern breakers, with our broad boat at a little distance from us—I was glad to find the dangers became less with my skipper, upon acquaintance; but could not prevail upon him to make a bold push at once. We were now four in company, laying upon our oars; sometimes going up to look at the breakers; we would next drop down again; again to our oars, and take another look—when one of the boats observing the calm that ensued upon the breaking of a great sea, and being agham'd to go back, at once bid his men give way: they stop'd again, but 'twas for a little; they gave way once more with a cheerful heart, and the other followed.—Looking on my skipper, I ask'd where his danger was then? upon which, with great calmness and indifference, he hail'd the mate in the great boat, what he thought of it, and if he would venture? I could not contain myself longer at a behaviour so dastardly, and I am afraid I forgot myself a little in my expressions on the occasion.—In which, however, I call'd out to the people of the flat-bottom'd boat, to give way after the others immediately; and that if they gave any other answer to such a question, than a resolute launch into the danger, they ought for ever to be agham'd they had once belong'd to a ship of war. They obey'd instantly, and gave way, tho' almost then too late; for before we got half over the channel, the seas rose and broke so high that the people in the great boat losing heart, pull'd but deadly when their greatest efforts were most needed. Being near them, and unemploy'd, I did what I could to cheer them up; but in spite of all, before we could force our boats over the dangers, we receiv'd the

shocks of four seas :—none of which however did the harm expected from them, farther than wetting the people, and driving us to leeward, even within a little of the southern bar. We got quite over about three o'clock, or after ; and as we had then fourteen miles to tug against the stream, we jump'd all hands into the water, and wading to the shore, not only lighten'd the boats, but, having brought small ropes for the purpose, drag'd them up along the shore, at a much faster rate than oars could pull ; in which, however, our people being unacquainted with the river, and night coming on, they had not trac'd them above four miles, when they run them ashore upon a shoal, so fast that we gave over all hopes of getting on our way again sooner than nine in the evening, when the tide would make up.

Mean time I amused myself along shore, in a manner different from the others, but which was no more than in searching for shells, when some uncommon herbs in my way struck my attention, —and amongst the rest a large creeping plant, upon which hang a fruit, form'd and in every other way in its shape, very much resembling the kidney-bean, but larger than the Windsor broad bean, having generally nine or ten in a pod ; they cover large spaces of the ground, grow on a sandy soil, creep out to the length of eight or nine feet, the leaves grow in threes as in the common kidney-bean, and the small foot stalks, by which each of the three are join'd to the main stalk, are thick and glandulous ; a circumstance I have not observ'd in any other plant (see fig. 11. plate IV.) ; are fair to look upon, and such as were full grown, were far from being undesirable.* I was then however an hungry, and thought so ; and had eat a good many of them, when a negroe coming that way, urg'd me to throw them away, giving me by signs to know that they were not fit to eat. Several of the soldiers breaking off at times from tugging at the boat, follow'd my example as far as to pull several and put in their pockets, but not daring to eat what they said they did not know, they then blest themselves not a little they had not been so rash, and began to pity my fate. Having however never

* Some of these, from seeds which I brought with me from Sanaga, are now growing at Sion-House, the seat of the right honourable the earl of Northumberland ; and at Mr. Lee's nursery at Hammer-smith.

read in any natural history of any bean being poisonous, and recollecting at the same time that the east and southern countries retain and hold in esteem many of the Pythagorean notions, I flatter'd myself that their not eating of this bean, was from some sacred reason, rather than any poisonous quality; and surpriz'd the soldiers considerably, in continuing to eat them (to the face of the negroe), untill I had satisfied the cravings of nature.— I will confess to you, that shortly after I had a violent out-striking, which giving me uneasiness continued increasing upon me for eight days afterwards, attended with a flux, and which was immediately attributed to some malignant quality in the bean; but pursuing my adventure, the following are reasons which with much more probability might have been the real cause. Jumping from the boat, to the middle, in the sea; continuing wet for a considerable time; to avoid the dangers of an unknown coast, going again on board the open boat at sun-set; where, with the preceeding night's want of rest, and the fatigue of the day, I in that condition insensibly fell asleep by the side of my pilot, who had got his pipe a-light, and diverted away the sharpness of the evening in a much more prudent manner.

In this situation I lay until the people, after a most sultry day finding the evening the more chilly and disagreeable, were pleas'd to bestir themselves from their lethargy; and by a force they chose not before to exert, they of themselves got the boats into deeper water, when taking to the oars, cheering up each other by turns; by the help of the tide, which soon followed us, or perhaps was then, tho' to us unknown and irregular, we reach'd the island of Sanaga, betwixt the hours of eleven and twelve that night. Where leaving my skipper and the mate, to look after their things and their crew, my first enquiries were after my friends; with whom, learning they were well and upon the island, I had the pleasure of passing the remainder of the night to satisfaction.— But I will not trouble you with the meetings of friends. You have a more generous disposition than to think friendship like love should be confin'd; and the happiness and little innocent enquiries with some of my friends in a climate so distant, was but a fore-taste of that which I hope I shall enjoy with you all, when Heaven shall be pleas'd to shower down the blessing of peace upon Europe!

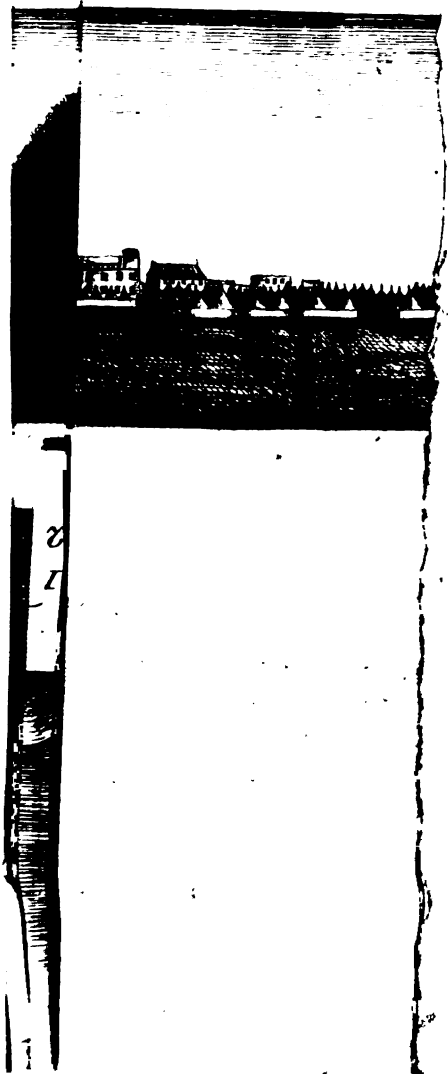
CHAP. IX.

Of the arrival of Tresor Mughtard, king of Leghiboli—Of his reception by the Negroes—Of his being received in state at fort St. Louis—With a description of his court held there, on the arrival of the new governor, colonel Worge.

THE morning following presented me with a scene of a very extraordinary nature; the arrival of Tresor Mughtard, king of Leghiboli,—a considerable prince in those parts, who came to congratulate the new governor on his arrival at Senegal.

His first appearance was on the Barbary side of the river, attended by his nobles and retinue, mounted on horses and camels, to a very considerable number. A cavalcade of this nature being to me a novelty, I went down to the river's edge opposite to the Moorish town (see plate IX.) where the king soon after halted until he could inform the governor of his visit. A canoe immediately push'd from the continent, bringing over a messenger from the king, with an interpreter; the latter of whom accosting me in a very barbarous sort of English, ask'd to be carried to the governor: and whom having led to the officer of the guard, they were immediately conducted to the colonel. Hereupon a barge was order'd round with captains Allen and Hamilton, of the marine, to wait on his majesty and to conduct him over the river, while major Mason waited at the river-side to receive him on the island: all which his majesty, however, thought a parade too little.

It seems it had been a custom with the French, for their governors to go in person to receive and conduct crown'd heads into the island; and the king finding only two military officers, made a great many hesitations, and could not easily put up with such a diminution of his usual honours. Whereupon captain Hamilton represented to his majesty, that he was not to expect those submissions formerly paid by the French—The French were only a company of merchants, trading men, and their governor a private person only: While the English were the immediate servants of the king of Great Britain; their governor the representative of his majesty, and could not therefore in any manner of way be complied with.—After which
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by the other six dancers, with certain notes, or rather screams, some treble, some tenor, some counter, some base; and all of them at the same time clapping their hands, and throwing their bodies into

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ensued a long confabulation amongst his nobility upon the matter, and the king was at length prevail'd upon to go on board the barge with part of his retinue, attended by the two Captains: but on his arrival at the island, there arose a second misunderstanding about getting out of the boat. The boat being deeply loaded, could not be brought to the shore by many feet: two marines therefore jump'd into the water to carry their own officers dry on shore, who went out before the king on purpose to assist the major in receiving him on the island; and the interpreter thereupon gave to understand, that those marines who brought their officers on shore dry footed, should also attend his majesty on the same purpose. But major Mason, with captains Allen and Hamilton, being of opinion that it would be improper to begin them with any sort of treatment they would think too servile to continue, beg'd leave to acquaint his majesty by his interpreter, that it was not the custom of the kings of England to be supported by any but Englishmen, and for the same reason Englishmen must not suffer themselves to become the servants of any other potentate whatever. So that after a farther consultation with his nobles, his majesty was pleas'd to be carried ashore on the shoulders of two of his own attendants.

Upon his being set on shore the major receiv'd him with a salute of seven guns, acquainting him that if they had diminish'd some of the honours which a merchant-company thought their interest to comply with, they made it up in military honour by an addition of five guns:—for it seems the French gave on these occasions, two guns only. From the river-side, as the King was conducted a-cross the parade to the fort, he was met by a company of negroes attach'd to the Leghiboli moors, who danc'd before him in a manner the most uncommon imaginable, until he was receiv'd into the fort by a captain's guard. The principal dancers were women, nine in number, and placed three and three a-breast. The middle person of the row nearest the king, while she danc'd stooping she spread out her garments like wings as a token of submission; and the two outermost women, dancing, sung also a song, in the chorus of which they were join'd by the other six dancers, with certain notes, or rather screams, some treble, some tenor, some counter, some base; and all of them at the same time clapping their hands, and throwing their bodies into

into many extraordinary, extravagant, and some into indecent postures.

In this manner arriving at the fort he was led up to the governor's apartment, where was placed a great chair, with a shew covering or carpet thrown over it, in some degree to imitate a throne, in which governor Worge, with much civility, seated the king; and, during the audience, sat himself uncover'd in his presence.

The appearance of this court was the most ridiculous imaginable, and the representation must I dare say please you.

In the first place, you must know that the great room or hall into which the king was usher'd, was no other than that which the governor uses as a dining-room for the numerous company he is often pleas'd to entertain; and this accident happening at a very unfortunate time of the day, the table was already cover'd for his guests—However, unprovided in greater convenience, in the midst of that disorder, the honest well-meaning governor admitted his royal visitors.—Suppose now to yourself, a man of six feet, well made, of a grave aspect, his beard decent, abating his colour, comely; dress'd in a loose robe of coarse worsted gawz, broad striped in blue and white; his robe sleeves of fine white linnen, loose and flowing in the manner of a surplice; his crown made of scarlet cloth stuff'd, I imagine with grifs-grifs, (fig. 5. plate VII.)—or rather a sort of ancient diadem than crown, encircling his temples; from the back of which did hang some ornamental part of his dress, and made of the before mention'd gauze; with some part of his arms and hands, as well as the lower part of his thighs and legs bare, and sandals on his feet.—This is the figure of the prince. Suppose to yourself next, the above figure lolling on the arm of the chair set for a throne; one leg laid on the other knee, and all the time of the audience (as a farther mark of indifference and superiority), diverting himself by picking or rather cleaning his teeth, with a short twig from a tree which he had pick'd up in his way hither*; now and then diversifying the scene a little, by whiffing from a short

* Probably a twig from the ghelola-tree, resembling very nearly the osier, and in great vogue for its value in this use.

tobacco-pipe which one of his nobles presented him with, and which his majesty, afterwards wiping the end he had in his mouth, was graciously pleas'd to honour his principal counsellor with a whiff of the same tobacco. Suppose too this favourite sometimes sitting, sometimes standing on the king's left-hand, while his guiriot or chief musician, upon a seat at his right-hand, during the audience, thrumm'd most wretchedly upon a lute or instrument of the guitar kind, made of a calabash, and strung with horse-hair: besides these, the interpreter sat betwixt his majesty and the governor, and the rest of the nobles took their seats as they could; some of whom were arm'd with swords, some with musquets, and others with lances, or bows and arrows, made up this strange court!

Being thus seated, after about five minutes silence, governor Worge, speaking to the king, hop'd he saw his majesty in good health? Which being made known, the king gave a nod with his head, and the interpreter answer'd he was well: soon after this, his majesty enquir'd if king George was well when the governor left England? To which the colonel reply'd, his majesty was then in good health; and in return enquir'd after the health of the queen of Leghiboli, which was answer'd as before.—All which questions, with several others of a like nature, simple and common, were easily understood, and easily answer'd on either side; but when they came to talk of business, they hobbled terribly. The Arabs or Moors very soon came to an old and favourite scheme of theirs, *viz.* the destroying of Poydore, and erecting a fort at *Port en Derrique*, or *Portendique*; and the English as soon got to their more favourite and substantial topick,—*roast-beef to their plumb-pudding*.—But alas, each gave the other so little satisfaction, that I began very heartily to pity the poor colonel in his government! After a long and much-meaning silence, he look'd up, and with a sigh, which he endeavour'd to prevent, wish'd he had some one could understand them. Major Mason talk'd a great deal; and not only as if he understood them, but as if they also understood him:—though, for my own part, I look'd upon all we said to them, not being understood, as tending to little purpose; while it appear'd to me the governor, at least on his side, if not the major himself, understood still less of
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what the Moorish interpreter said to them ; so that after a long conference, they spoil'd their dinners to very little purpose, and 'twill be well for them if this proves the only one :—it seems this was to be their constant amusement for several days to come. —The governor must maintain the king and his retinue, who will sometimes condescend to stay for a week or two before his departure,—at which time he will be graciously pleas'd to suffer himself to be loaded with presents, and in return will perhaps be obliging enough to promise what he will never afterwards think of.

But before I leave this mock court, I must not forget to describe to you the favourite mistress of one of these great men, who also made her appearance on this occasion. She was small in stature, differing nothing from the colour of the males, had her forehead concealed with one part of her head-dress, while another cover'd the lower part of her face, even to her eyes, and was sustain'd in that position by her nose only ; for at times she would let it fall under her chin, to regale herself with a pipe of tobacco, the smook of which she took in at her mouth, but threw it out in a surprising manner from her nostrils. Her dress was loose ;—but what was extremely singular, her ancles were encircled with two large clumsy rings, and as I imagined of pewter, about an inch and an half in breadth (as in fig. 88. plate VII.) and rounding off on both edges, like the rim of a pewter jordan, design'd doubtless to preserve them from galling her ancles but, nevertheless seem'd vastly inconvenient, and made her straddle in her gait most shockingly, putting me in mind of a horse fet-lock, and seemingly design'd for a like purpose.

C H A P.

CHAP. X.

Of the progress of Christianity in these parts,—consider'd to our shame. The inhabitants of Senegal, in genteel procession, wait on the governor.—An account of the people; particularly their women:—In which our author thinks it far preferable to mix with them, than to send white women to the torrid zone.

ON the day following, being Sunday, I was pleas'd much better, tho' less diverted, by a procession of a different nature.

The Romish clergy here have, to their great honour, been at vast pains to make converts to Christianity, and have had good success in snatching many from the ignorance of Paganism, and many from the delusions of Mahomet; which converts have now such a veneration for the religion taught them and things sacred, that they held the English for some time in very great contempt; and seeing neither priests nor ceremonies amongst them, would hardly be persuaded they were Christians, and would by no means permit them to bury their dead in their hallow'd ground.—Carrying matters so far, as even to think that with the French we would also chace religion itself from the island. On this subject I am told, a lady of distinction there, the princess Pennetica was heard to say, *That while she was ignorant, and a Pagan, she was happy; but now she began to find, that being a Christian would make her miserable!* Our countrymen at that time endeavour'd to calm them in this point by a falsehood, which however took; which was, that they were good Christians, but that they had the misfortune to lose their chaplain in the passage. But what they will be able to say for themselves now, is more than I can resolve.—Above a thousand people, men and women,—in a strange land, in a land of infidels, in a land of sickness and of death; unattended by the chaplain of any of the regiments, either to administer the sacraments of Baptism and the Eucharist, either to instruct them in their duty while in health, to give them ease or comfort on a death-bed, or to attend their ashes, like Christians, to a grave, must strike every reasonable and sober-minded person with an awful concern! The chaplain of a regiment, while his flock remains in a Christian country, may have a seeming suffi-

cient excuse, at least to man, for his neglect; however he shall answer it to his master: but for a priest to stay by the flesh-pots at home, when some hundreds of those for whom he must answer, are gone to so desolate a country as this, are the very shepherds who feed themselves and not their flock: but although the English, to their dishonour, have carry'd no pastor with them; God in his good providence, has not left those infant Christians without a guide. There is in the island a gentleman (although a negroe) of extraordinary good sense, a good education, and withal polite; and not from authority, so much as the knowledge of his honesty and other amiable qualities, has obtain'd such ascendancy over the minds of the inhabitants, that his voice is with them a law in every thing.—On sundays, and other holidays, his house becomes a chapel, where a very decent and considerable community meet together, the gentleman himself officiating to them as pastor; so that Mr. Charles, for so he is call'd, may be truly stil'd their king, priest, and lawgiver.

On sunday, I say, after divine service was over, the above Mr. Charles, attended with all the Christians (the chief part of the inhabitants) came in a very genteel procession of two and two, the men first, with the women following, to pay their compliments to the governor on his arrival upon the island, who having assur'd him of their obedience, beg'd they might be protected from any insult, and hoped they should not be forced from those houses which had ever been their own properties, and not the French.—At the same time presented a memorial of the above, sign'd by most of those who waited on him; which Mr. Charles, as the mouth of the whole, desir'd might be transmitted to his Britannick majesty. The governor receiv'd their address with a great deal of satisfaction; could not help taking notice, that they were a very fine people; and dismissing them, assur'd Mr. Charles that instead of their houses being taken from them, if for want of room in the garrison he should be oblig'd to billet officers upon the inhabitants, they should be paid lodging-money according to their rank.

And I assure you, they were nothing short of what the governor said: the males, both here and at Goree, are generally tall,
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strait, and well made, have not that thickness of the lip and flatness of the nose, that common slaves and negroes farther to the south are always found to have, and most of them go very decently apparel'd, and in the French taste; but this is to be understood of the inhabitants of the islands only where the French were settled. The subjects of the neighbouring princes, who are very formidable, and who can bring to the field thirty thousand men, five thousand of which mounted on the finest Arabian horses, arm'd with various instruments of war: even the subjects of Seratick himself, who they say sits on a throne of silver, and is serv'd in plate of most costly value, are clad in no other dress than the common negroe slaves, which is a piece of linnen wrapp'd about their middle, with the addition of a small blue covering, thrown loosely over their shoulders: being greatly given to superstition, besides the above dress, those who go to war are plentifully loaded with griffgrifs or gregories, small cloth or leather bags containing little slips of written paper, which they purchase from the marbuts or priests, measuring about three inches in circumference, variously fashion'd, but generally quadrangular: in these they put great trust, and are charms they imagine will prevent them from almost every kind of danger, and which they hang about their necks and arms (fig. 6. plate VII.), with bracelets of silver or brass, bent about their wrists (fig. 7. plate VII.): but all these fooleries those who have embrac'd Christianity, and were much amongst the French, have entirely cast off. As to their women, and in particular the ladies (for so I must call many of those in Senegal) they are in a surprizing degree handsome, have very fine features, are wonderfully tractable, remarkably polite both in conversation and manners; and in the point of keeping themselves neat and clean (of which we have generally strange ideas, form'd to us by the beastly laziness of slaves), they far surpass the Europeans in every respect. They bath twice a day, upon every occasion they wash from all kinds of moisture; and in this particular have a very hearty contempt for all white people, who they imagine must be disagreeable, ~~our~~ women especially. Nor can even their men, from this very notion, be brought to look upon the prettiest of our women, but with the coldest indifference, some of whom there are here, officers ladies, who dress very showey, and who even in England would be thought handsome. You may, perhaps,

perhaps, smile at all this; but I assure you 'tis a truth. Negroes to me are no novelty; but the accounts I receiv'd of them, and in particular the appearance of the females on this occasion, was to me a novelty most pleasing. They were not only pretty, but in the dress in which they appear'd, were even desirable. Nor can I give you any drapery more nearly resembling theirs, than the loose, light, easy robe, and sandal, in which we see the female Grecian statues attir'd; most of which were of exceeding white cotton, spun, wove into narrow slips of six or seven inches, and sow'd together by themselves. Their hair, for it differs a little from wool, very neat and curiously plaited; and their persons otherways adorn'd, by earrings, necklaces, and bracelets, of the purest gold.

And indeed I cannot help thinking, that it was to the benefit of the African company in general, and the happiness of those they sent abroad in particular; that, with such promising inhabitants, the French suffer'd no white women to be sent thither.—Nor do I think it would be wrong to follow their example. If we consider the good of the public, our mixing with the natives settles their affections on the most lasting foundations: and if we consider the benefits accruing to those in particular whom we have sent to the continent, it must have still a greater weight. A few women amongst so many men, find it almost impossible to continue chaste, especially in the army; but on the contrary contract distempers, which, with the other drudgeries camp-women are subject to, as washing, ironing, and cooking, in so scorching a climate, hurries them to their graves, dragging even many of their male companions with them, —many melancholy examples of which have been already seen in this island! Whereas, on the other hand, the natives have a thousand times their chastity, and by being in their natural climate, are capable of being of much greater use in a family. To which I may add, that should any of our delicate young gentlemen of the army have the mortification to be hereafter sent into this part of the torrid zone, and who may not possibly be able to bring themselves to any thoughts of marrying with a negroe, they will here find mulattos of the last generations, and from those, mustees of the present, very comely, particularly of the latter, who are full as fair, and as delicate as the French women.

But tho' I talk in this free manner of those females, a European will find himself prodigiously disappointed, if he shall fancy he has nothing to do but to take to himself a seat and sit down : I believe, that although there are prostitutes amongst them, yet while many may confess they have been rebuff'd with disdain, few of the English as yet, with any share of truth, can boast of having obtain'd illicit favours.—It is true, a priest is not so necessary a person at the disposal of parties in marriage in this country, as in others : family properties are but small ; the world is wide around them ; and, being enough for every body, the rising generations may pitch themselves cases or huts where they can find room. In other parts of inheritance, those natives have not yet degenerated so far into the love of money, ambition, and power, as not to trust to each other's honesty ; nor does the bonds of society so greatly consist here in the care parents take of their children's education, that a man and woman should be afraid of each other, without the most sacred engagements ; and if a female can be brought to like her suiter (who I shall suppose a European), and before her parents, and perhaps the priest, will consent to live with him ; to her 'tis a marriage, nor need the husband be afraid of her honesty. 'Tis true the husband may not look upon a ceremony of this nature, as able to bind him from ranging elsewhere, or perhaps taking another wife, which, tho' done amongst the natives, is uncommon to Europeans ; and when he grows tir'd of his partner, it may not be in the power of women here, more than wives at home, to change a vitious inclination : but if there are services of the most signal, necessary, and endearing natures, as well in health as in distress, with which women bless us, and which were we denied the benefits and enjoyment of, would render our lives the most miserable of the creation, I would advise inconstant gentlemen who may go thither to think a little, and be very cautious in their amours : for while the deserted lady is in no sort of fear of being long a widow, the lover will have better fortune than his neighbours, if he will so soon find another wife.—I speak this, only with respect to the private contract of a European ; for the laws here permit not the natives to put away a wife, or wives, more than ours at home.

But with these good qualities in the southern ladies, I must not omit another, tho' I shall leave it to yourself in what catalogue to place

place it,—whether in the noble or ignoble column.—As we in England have a weapon, conveniently laying by the fire-side,—vulgarly stil'd the woman's weapon ; so have they here, but of a nature far more tremendous. There are few women who have not in their houses, ready hanging on a nail, the saw of a sword-fish, with which in occasions of quarrel they tear and mangle each other in a manner most dreadful (see plate VIII.). Nor are they altogether tame to the insults of a male,—even their husbands. Although the princess Pennetica was prudent enough to put up with an affront she receiv'd from major Mason, which shall be more particularly taken notice of in course, there are stories told that her late husband M. St. Jean has often felt the weight of her hands.



C H A P. XI.

Of things curious.—Of the balafo, the grand instrument of music amongst the negroes.—Of the taste of those Africans, in music and poetry.—Of Sanaga.—Its description, soil, strength, &c.—With an account of a public table-conversation, concerning the conduct of captains Sayer and Knight, in the action before Goree.

OF natural curiosities, my short stay there makes me very barren ; and chiefly in the history of plants, trees, &c. or vegetables of any kind.—Being at that time the winter season, I saw the production of that season only ; and remaining but a short time, I could not see even those but in one state. As to the animal creation, the numberless descriptions we have had of those most common and remarkable, makes the bare naming them at this time sufficient : and as from this part of the world is brought our ivory, of consequence elephants are plenty : the fresh water river brings alligators in great numbers : there is here also the lion, the tiger, the antelope, the camel, the dromedary, the parrot, of various sorts, colours, and sizes ; the ostridge, the camelion, &c. &c. most of which I saw at that place. There is also a fish of particular beauty, caught without the bars by the hook, which from a grunting

ing noise it makes when brought out of the water, is call'd by some the drum, by others the grunting-fish; the folds in its gills are a shining azure, its head like burnish'd silver, the belly a spangling white, the top of the head, and a list down its side from head to tail, composed of red, white, and yellow, spangled, and the rest was changeable, like the neck of a dove, in colours of blue, white, yellow, green and purple. (See plate VIII.)

But a curiosity of a mechanical nature, I met with there, deserves a particular description: one of those instruments of music, call'd the ballard, balafo, or balafeu, purchased by the late French governor of fort St. Joseph, at Galam, at a considerable price, design'd as a present to the duke de Richlieu. The frame of the instrument is of wood, of about four feet in length, one foot in height, and on the left hand, or base, its breadth is about eighteen inches, falling off to nine or ten on the right or treble hand: on the top of this frame, length-ways, are stretch'd large gut strings, clear of the frame, upon which are placed nineteen pieces of *lignum-vitæ*, of different lengths, the longest eighteen inches, placed on the left, diminishing to ten on the right, about an inch and an half in breadth, and a quarter less in thickness, which serve for notes, and are still farther diminish'd in these dimensions, as the artist shall find requisite in tuning the instrument. Under these timbers are stretch'd a convenient number of smaller gut-strings a-cross the frame; and thereupon, to lengthen the tones, are hang'd calabashes, a sort of dry'd gourde, two and two a-breast, and of different sizes, from eight or nine inches in diameter, under the base notes, to two or three under the treble (fig. 4. plate VII.). This instrument is play'd upon by two small hammers, or mallets; the heads of which, to sweeten the sound, are made of gut-strings wound up, and sew'd firmly together; and altho' its music cannot be but incompleat, it has a certain soft and melancholy sweetness, extremely pleasing, resembling the tone of no other instrument I have ever heard, and is a music fitter for a lady's chamber, than a ball-room, altho' Jobson says he heard it above an English mile.

And this leads me to consider another part of the ingenuity of those natives—their proficiency in musick itself, as well vocal as instrumental. The presence of the prince of Leghiboli, had brought hither people of various abilities; amongst which, I had the pleasure

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of being entertain'd with one of their guiriots, and who was it seems a principal performer. His song, from his action, seem'd to be a detail of some battle or great man's history; which he sung in a sort of recitative; and at the end of every sentence (upon a lute, or instrument of the same kind that the mugtard's chief musician entertain'd his majesty withall) he play'd a sort of symphony, most commonly of four notes, especially in the passionate parts, and at others, he lengthen'd them out to four bars, (see fig. 5. plate VII) But his action in the vocal part, was the most surprizing I have seen—He put himself into violent passions, 'till he would sweat and foam like a madman; and in accompanying the words with an action suited to the story, would sometimes stamp with his feet, and threaten with his hand, would kneel, and even lie down; would sooth, and threaten again, so that it appear'd to me, the performer was enthusiastically possess'd with some ideas of inspiration, or at least seem'd desirous his audience should think so; which last is most probably the case.—The negroes believe those impostures are all of them inspir'd, or at least are familiar with the devil, and altho' they humour and enrich the sycophants, to have their praise while alive, they deny them even the common burial rites when dead, and are stuck up erect in hollow trunks of trees, lest the earth or water should be poison'd with their carcases.

Of their poetry, as I can be no judge of it from their language, I shall give you a specimen of it in broken English, such as I heard at Goree,—being a sort of song with which they us'd to flatter the English, after the surrendry of that island.

Frenchman a Goree,

Go Pop—pop—pop—pop—

England a Come! England a Come!

Pop, pop, pop! Pop, pop, pop! Pop, pop, pop! Pop!

In the singing of which, with a scornful sneer, they drawl'd out the words *Pop*, on the French side, but on the part of the English, with cheerfulness and vivacity; intimating thereby the great difference betwixt the quickness of firing on board the English ships, and the batteries on shore.

But

But to return from these digressions. I have with the other drawings, sent you also a plan and perspective of the island (plate IX.). The negroe town there, like that at Goree, is wonderfully regular, but more numerous, and large, containing at least twenty-seven hundred souls. The inhabitants there likewise, being many of them of high rank and family, have adorn'd the island with several lofty and gay buildings, both cool and convenient. As for the garrison, or fort St. Louis, it is so weak and insignificant, that major Mason, least the shocks of salutes, and the morning and evening guns, should throw down the walls, was oblig'd to bring down two pieces of cannon to the parade for those purposes; and indeed it can be look'd upon as little better than a place of lodgement for the officers, and storehouses for the company. Being but twelve miles from the river's mouth, and divided from the sea by a very narrow stripe of sand, of a quarter of a mile's breadth, upon which the moorish town is built, its soil is also sandy, and walking disagreeable—The parade however maintains a verdure, as also a square in the negroe town towards the north, and are firm. Without the town, going to the north end of the island, there is also firm walking, and a verdure, with some mangrove trees; and indeed, at this point, there is seemingly a tolerable good soil. I was also told by captain Hamilton, that a few miles above this, as he went to Poydore, the landskips began to please him; and a little farther he became ravished with a rich and fine soil:—if so, it is no small wonder they have not as yet had the ingenuity or foresight to bring down in lighters, boats, or floats, as much of that soil as would at least improve to themselves a tolerable garden;—since all garden-stuff is very much wanted.

And this recalls me to another scene before I bid adieu to the island. I mean to dinner,—to a place where many of the officers made a public and agreeable mess. Not that I am to describe the fare which these gentlemen on the torrid zone were fain, in the service of their country, to put up with; and that too in a time of scarcity and want!—Nor that I would call upon your humanity, by putting you in remembrance of the many wretches in England, who will turn up their noses at the best in your markets, while these have been glad to satisfy the waste of nature, with salt

beef or raisty pork.—I bring you to this scene on another account.

On the day of our engagement at Goree, you may remember I took notice, for a reason which should afterwards appear, that his majesty's ship the *Fougueux* was even the very first in being in readiness to cast, her anchor being first a-peek. I had however the mortification, a few days afterwards, to hear an officer of the *Nassau*, at the public watering-place, speaking of the action at Goree, say that the *Nassau* was long kept from going down to the enemy, by the *Fougueux's* being dilatory in getting ready to follow them. I knew the gentleman to be modest, sober, and a discreet officer; and therefore, thinking there might be some mistake in the account, I was satisfied at that time to put the gentleman right, by informing him that so far to the contrary, the *Fougueux* was as soon, or near as soon, ready as the *Prince Edward* herself; and which if otherways, might be easily contradicted.

I had however on this occasion, reasons to imagine that they were uneasy about some speeches made by the land officers on board the transports, who talk'd rather ridiculously on their behaviour at that time, and were willing if possible to shift the galling saddle from their own backs: for at this public table, another gentleman from the *Nassau*, whom I shall not name, forgetting I fancy that one who belong'd to that ship was there, talking pretty freely on the same subject, endeavour'd to make the gentlemen present believe that they were not to have gone down, until the squadron were all in readiness to go down together; and that the *Fougueux* (or in other words captain Knight) by her (or his) backwardness in the matter, was the occasion of the *Nassau's* not going to the relief of the *Prince Edward* sooner. Upon this occasion, I could not help taking the gentleman up *—I beg'd to inform him, and to inform the gentlemen present, that the *Fougueux's* station was on the left of the commodore, and of consequence the sternmost; and in

* I am well appriz'd there are sea officers who, from their little knowledge of mankind, think it lessens their dignity that any one but themselves should know things of this nature, and will immediately ask, *What the d—l has the Parson to do with fighting of ships?* I will for once answer these fools,—if such fools there be—
 'Twas with an officer of my own rank I encounter'd.

that

that case how the Nassau, who was to lead the van, her going down or not going down to the enemy, depended on the motions of the sternmost, will forever remain a mystery. I said it was a truth incontestible, that captain Knight had his anchor a-peek long before they, or even before the commodore himself had his cable half in.—And as it was the greatest injustice to injure an innocent character, I beg'd the gentleman would find some other cause for their own delays. I am sorry, on captain Sayer's account, it should have happen'd so; but I am well assur'd nobody will blame him. It was well known in the squadron, from the history of a court-martial at Teneriff, that he had a very mutinous ship's crew: and every seaman is very sensible, that such people *will*, and *will not do to purpose*, in spite of all command, as the humour takes them. Now if this was really the cause of any confusion, or delay, why might it not have been declar'd, without giving blame where in reality none was due. The commodore himself, who was near the Fougueux, will be far from saying so.—And indeed that commander, willing to soften things as much as possible, gently complain'd, if that word may be us'd, on another quarter,—to wit, the over-haste of the Prince Edward, when she saw that the Nassau was not ready to bear down with her; and wish'd that she had *laid bye* a little for that purpose. But on this score captain Fortescue is said very bravely to have return'd Mr. Keppel this answer. *That if it was to do again, he would far rather bear all their combin'd batteries, than give the commodore's boat an opportunity of asking why he drew back from the enemy.—It was his orders to get on board and bear away immediately; he did so; and apprehended if he had done otherways, he would have refus'd his duty to his country and commander.*

Thus far have I been oblig'd to speak.—I had heard an unjust accusation in two public places, in which the honour of several of my friends were concern'd: and as from these samples there are grounds to fear reports of the same kind have been handed about elsewhere, I think myself both in justice and duty bound, in a public manner also, to say such truths as are well known to all the squadron; and am so far call'd upon to speak thus clearly, because on my return to England, it happen'd exactly as I suspected: amongst the first news I heard at a coffee-house, was this same dirty,

dirty, mean story (far, I am sure, from the knowledge or countenance of captain Sayer) propagated amongst the navy gentlemen at Portsmouth, the Nassau having got to the port two or three days before us—but of this enough—I will here put an end to my adventure at Senegal.—Our departure being settled for Tuesday morning, I was oblig'd to hurry myself back to the squadron.



C H A P. XII.

Trefor Mughtard, king or sultan of Leghiboli, breaks with the French.—He contrives the means of their destruction.—Mr. Cumming brings an account thereof to Britain.—Of the behaviour of major Mason in the government of Sanaga.—And of the consequences thereof.

HAVING carried matters thus far with respect to ourselves, I will now turn me to another point of view—much has been talk'd of governor Mason; much of Mr. Cumming; and without some account of our situation with the neighbouring powers, and of the conduct of the late governor amongst them, my voyage to you may seem wanting.

You must know then, that upon the north side of the Sanaga, over a vast tract of ground, is the desert of Sahra; on which, towards the west, for almost an hundred leagues into the country, live those arabs subject to Trefor Mughtard, king of Leghiboli; and towards the east, are settled the moors of Brackna.—betwixt whose kingdoms the gum Forrest unluckily lying, it has become a bone of contention, which keeps them perpetually at variance. Mughtard however, not contented with what he endeavours to gain by fair conquest, begins to undermine the Brackna moors, by outwitting also the Europeans, and which he first hoped to have accomplish'd thro' the French, by these means.

The English having establish'd a factory for the gum trade at Portendique, a place of good anchorage on the Barbary coast, about forty leagues north of the mouth of Sanaga; in the latitude eighteen degrees five minutes north, and a port whither the Leghiboli moors bring their trade, Mughtard had it in his power on one hand to do

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great service or great disservice to the English, which the French could not help being sensible of. On the other, as those moors are the only people who feed and rear up cattle in great flocks, by giving or denying them to the French garrison, it was likewise evident they could also much effect the happiness of those in fort St. Louis; but in the mean time, keeping a fair outside shew with the French subjects, he beg'd the governor on his part would break with his enemies the Brackna moors; and that he would in consequence thereof destroy or evacuate the fort at Poydore, and in lieu of which to settle at Portendique; when he (Mughtard) on his part, would of course, to the hurt of the English, sell his gum to the French factory only.

Had this been granted, the Brackna moors who now bring their gum to a place called le Coq, near Poydore, having then no factory amongst them to take it off their hands, would be much discourag'd in gathering it, and must either give it up or run the dangerous risque of coming down the Sanaga, within reach of the enemy's fire for many leagues; which, as it would be folly to attempt, the Leghiboli moors would in the end become sole masters of the gum trade, and wou'd sell it at very extravagant prices. And 'twas not only on this account, but probably also not choosing to break with England for what would be of so small a consequence to France, their governor could not at that time possibly think of honouring their request; but which, in the sequel, became the cause of their being entirely routed out of Africa.—For the Tresor of Leghiboli, sometime before this war, having broke with the French, laid the foundation of their destruction, by communicating their weakness to Mr. Cumming at Portendique, and who, upon the late declaration of war, laid that important enterprize before the ministry; the sultan, as it is said, having promis'd the assistance of seven hundred men, together with a tender of his alliance, if such a reinforcement should be found necessary.

The British colours were no sooner hoisted on fort St. Louis; than several congratulatory meetings ensued, and in which the Leghiboli moors very early renew'd their old demands—to demolish the fort at Poydore, and give up all communication with their enemies the Brackna moors, which they expected of us, as the business, if not the duty, of one ally to encourage another. However,

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as that fort commands a communication to fort St. Joseph at Galam, three hundred leagues above St. Louis, and our chief factory near the gold country; as it is a market to dispose of our native manufactures, for the toils of a very considerable and powerful nation; as the retaining the fort, as well as that at Portendique in our possession, will keep the price of gums at a moderate rate; and as it is our business to be well with every nation, to offend none, and to build more forts rather than to demolish those we have, governor Mason very wisely kept them off from that point, promising that if they would make him the umpire betwixt the Brackna and Leghiboli moors, he would endeavour to gain each of them an honourable peace, and besought them rather to live together like brethren. In thus waving them from the main point, he however managed it in so prudent and artful a manner, that the Sede Mughtard, uncle to the king and regent of Leghiboli, express'd at his departure great satisfaction with major Mason's behaviour. But this is not all: I must tell you of another visit. The cadge (or dauphin as they sometimes stile him) of Brack, a very considerable prince, the son and heir to the great Brack, whose is all that tract of country from the mouth of the Senegal to Poydore, towards the south, came some time after the former visit; and, as ambassador from the king his father, propos'd some articles with regard to trade, and chiefly horned cattle. This prince also was so well receiv'd, and dismiss'd in such good humour, that sitting down on the Moorish side of the river, at a village opposite to fort St. Louis (see plate IX.), he with his retinue gave themselves wholly to a romantick jollity and mirth,—drinking, with many other toasts, those in particular of the king of England and the governor of Sanaga. In this frolic, the brandy the major had presented them with, became too strong for their heads, who not contented with quaffing their alliance, they must next shew their zeal by salutes; and as they seldom go from home without having their pieces loaded, many of them now forgetting to draw the bullets, most unthinkingly fired them into the garrison, to the endangering of several of the soldiers lives. The governor being made acquainted therewith, and most justly alarm'd by a number of rude infidels, discharging loaded pieces into a fort, order'd one of his cannon to be charg'd with grape shot, and fir'd amongst them.—Upon which, one man being kill'd, a second wounded, and the prince

prince himself narrowly escaping a ball, which went thro' the lower part of his garment, a second conference ensued ; in which all matters being amicably concluded, both parties being sensible that neither was to blame, the negroes once more took their leave with satisfaction : but when the account of this affair reach'd the ears of his father the king, he expressed the greatest concern for the ridiculous and shameful behaviour of his people, and receiv'd his son in a very abrupt and uncommon manner. It must, however, be confess'd, in the midst of all these fair appearances, whether from any real dislike to the political delays of governor Mason, with respect to the petition concerning Poydore on the side of the Tresor of Leghiboli, or any secret grudge lurking from this last mistake, in the heart of the Brack ; altho' both promis'd to return the governor's civilities and presents, with cattle, provisions, and other commodities much wanted on the island, they have not either of them had the honour or grace to make good one syllable of their words.

From this source, together with some misunderstandings betwixt governor Mason and Mr. Cumming in some points relating to trade, as well as some differences betwixt the major and captain Rook ; the wellwishers of each party have represented things as their friendships lead them, little to either of their satisfactions ; and with regard to the governor's conduct on the island of Sanaga, not much to his honour.

And while I now talk of these things, permit me to go a little farther. I am but little known to the major, I had never before this time seen him, and hope, as I can have no attachment to say things contrary to truth on either side, and more especially as I am particularly acquainted with several of the friends and well-wishers of both ;—these things, I say, consider'd, my stating matters in a fair and just light, and while I at the same time carry on my narrative with regard to the situation of the British on this coast, my endeavours to relate exactly some passages relating to the governor's character, will not I hope be thought impertinent.—For these matters, altho' as a private gentleman they may not concern me, yet as an historian every thing should.

It has been said by the major's enemies, that the princess Pinetica (daughter to the late, and niece to the present king of Brack,—a

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lady who has a sort of palace on this island, attended by many slaves, and in whose interest all the inhabitants of the island profess themselves) had been grossly abused, and without the least provocation, by major Mason, in the character of governor, thereby alienating from our interest those we ought to cherish.—The truth is, this princess having a negroe slave extremely handy about a kitchen, and who used to be an assistant to the Sieur Brue, the late French governor, in that capacity; was hired also by the major at the rate of nine livres per month. A considerable time afterwards (I think in the month of December 1758) the major taking notice of the usefulness of this fellow, spoke much in his praise; and unthinkingly, in a common conversation, talk'd of having the fellow more about him, without being particular enough in that point, which gave some talkative busy fool an opportunity of being troublesome.—For the princess, naturally high spirited, haughty, and hasty, hearing the major's speech a little mangled from its real meaning, and thereby imagining he meant to deprive her of the right of her slave, with an air of superiority order'd her slave to her palace. The governor on his part, hearing of her behaviour in an aggravated manner likewise, was in his temper as hasty, and in his turn offended. He would immediately have discharged the negroe from his service, but that he had before had no interview with the princess on his account, and the person from whom he hired him, as agent to the lady, was not then on the island. He met her highness, however, by chance drinking tea with major Maul's lady, when her behaviour clashing with his passion, he forgot himself so far as to use her with more harshness than she expected; more perhaps than a woman of her pride could bear without resentment.

It is true this affair made a very sensible impression on many of the negroe inhabitants, who came in a body to condole with her on the occasion: and altho' the major, when he grew calmer, might be sorry he had carried the matter so far, on account of her sex more than her royalty; yet as she had, in the character of M. St. Jean's wife, then governor of Goree, behav'd herself in a most indiscreet manner all along, he thought himself warranted in what he did; and, to put it out of her power to be the occasion of any farther di-

disturbance, he order'd her forthwith to leave the island.—But thro' the intercession of Mr. Charles, of whom before I made mention, the order was recall'd, and the princess brought to confess her fault and to beg his pardon. And here I must take notice, that in whatever manner ill natur'd people may represent this incident, the princess could in no ways have expected, but from her sex only, to have been treated from the very beginning in the polite manner she had been, the above private misunderstanding excepted. I have already taken notice, that she was wife of M. St Jean, governor at Goree—At that very instant she held a constant correspondence with him; buoy'd up the spirit of her dependents, in hopes her husband (or rather her gallant) would be able to defend the island against the English, and that in a short time the French, with double force, would return to their possessions again—By which, even the negroes on the continent were greatly deter'd from serving the governor and his people; and kept the markets so poorly, that, at the time of our being there, they themselves, as well as the English, were brought to so low an ebb, that one of their ladies, as I mention'd when at Goree, had left the island for want of bread.

But to this incident, trifling in its nature, I must add another more melancholy in its effects! On the twenty-fourth of July 1758, a fresh recruit of troops being sent from England, coming over those bars already describ'd, one of the boats was cast away; but, being on the south channel, some of the soldiers getting to the shore, sav'd both their arms and other accoutrements from the wreck, which they had some hopes of carrying with them to the island, when the approach of several negroes daunting their resolution. they threw down their arms and took to their heels. An account of which being brought to the governor, he sent messengers to the adjacent towns, demanding nine stand of arms, the property of his master the king of Great Britain, which was left as on the preceeding day upon their beach, being thrown down by ignorant soldiers newly having escap'd a shipwreck, and frighten'd at the approach of a body of negroes, (of which they themselves must be sensible) could not be held as a wreck, unless they encourag'd pirating men unjustly and without cause to the rout, that they might seize upon their effects, he beg'd they would return them, without giving him the trouble

of using military force. In the mean time the major, to secure the rest of the troops in disembarking from a like misfortune, order'd a party of fifty marines down the river, under the command of captain Rook, with orders to encamp on the beach, having an arm'd sloop riding at anchor on the right, and the wreck of another lying high on the shore on their left, which would serve them as redoubts, in case of need; but to be careful of using force, unless oblig'd to it. These troops however landing in the evening, instead of encamping prudently upon the sea-shore, as directed, they continued their march towards a negroe town, at a considerable distance from the sea, and there encamp'd: when the negroes being alarm'd at having a body of soldiers so near, march'd against them in the night, and at eleven o'clock, while our men were asleep, and their arms in the bell-tents, they storm'd the camp and put several to the sword. Recovering themselves a little, they did what they could to sell their lives at the dearest rate; and making a great havock amongst the enemy, with the loss of lieutenant Wilkinson and twenty private men, captain Rook and lieutenant Cooper brought the other thirty from the slaughter, and got them safely on board the boats: but Captain Rook, not contented with what he himself had suffer'd, or with what he had done to the enemy, jump'd ashore with his musket and fix'd bayonet in his hand, when having kill'd three or four of their chiefs, exasperated the negroes, and receiving several wounds himself, he was at last oblig'd to throw himself into the sea; when the enemy pursuing him with hand-darts, spears, and assagays, faint with fatigue and loss of blood, he was unable to support himself longer, and, sinking down in the water, was carried away with the stream; while at the same time lieutenant Cooper, stepping from the boat to the assistance of his captain, received a very dangerous wound in the thigh, with which he linger'd for some months, and then expir'd!

To this rencounter, may the ill-designing impute great part of the shyness which at that time reign'd betwixt the negroe villages adjacent, and our garrison on Sanaga. I will grant it may. But I have the pleasure of answering in my turn, that notwithstanding those unfortunate and unforeseen misunderstandings, when the governor on that occasion sent to Bourba Jaloffe, king of Domell, that prince declar'd

declar'd with great grief he was entirely ignorant of those misfortunes, and was with difficulty prevail'd upon to save the necks of some of his principal officers who began the storm. I will declare farther, that, to my personal knowledge, the princeſs Pinetica, who of all others had the leaſt reaſon to love the major; yet, when talking to her on this ſubject, ſhe declar'd it gave her no ſort of pleaſure, that that gentleman had loſt his command:—and even with reſpect to the generality of the iſland, I was well aſſur'd it gave them no ſmall uneaſineſs when they were told that a new governor was appointed. I might here alſo mention, the ſatiſfaction which the honourable Auguſtus Keppel receiv'd upon his enquiring into the major's conduct, and how ſoon he became ſenſible of the great uſe that gentleman had been of in this infant ſettlement. But to detain you as little as poſſible, permit me to ſum up this ſection of my epiſtle, by repeating a private ſpeech of a very honeſt man, in the major's favour.—I mean the preſent governor Worge; in whoſe goodneſs I hope for forgiveness, in thus publiſhing what his modeſty might wiſh to be conceal'd.

“ I Have been told ſtrange ſtories (ſaid he) of major Maſon, and
 “ I have partly been forced to believe them; but I very early be-
 “ gin to form ſome idea of the fatigue thro' which he has ſtruggled,
 “ and am not a little ſurpriz'd to think he has been able to conduct
 “ himſelf to the ſatiſfaction of almoſt any, or near ſo well as he
 “ has. It has been repreſented to me as a grievance that the major,
 “ by giving too many preſents, has thereby render'd the negroes
 “ ſaucy, and hurt'd trade.—As for my own part, inſtead of find-
 “ ing fault with that, I ſhall endeavour to out-do him in his gene-
 “ roſity. I have laid out a conſiderable ſum in ſuch trafficks as I
 “ am told will ſuit the country; and, if it is in my power, they
 “ ſhall aſk nothing I ſhall not with an equal pleaſure give. I am
 “ ſent here to conſult what may be for the good of my country and
 “ of this gariſon, and ſhall not ſuffer myſelf to think of what
 “ may be to my own private gain, or the profits of individuals, while
 “ any thing can be done for Britain. I will grant you, that ſuch
 “ a behaviour may make the negroes ſaucy, and not a little affect
 “ private trade; but all that, if we ſhall at the concluſion of the
 “ war retain this conqueſt in our poſſeſſion, may be eaſily remedy'd;
 “ while

“ while, on the contrary, should this acquisition be restor'd to the
 “ enemy, our generosity will prove a thorn in the side of the French
 “ merchants, not to be pluck'd out for an age.”



C H A P. XIII.

A description of the rivers Sanaga, Faleme, Golden River, and Gbiana—Of the forts built upon them—Of the richness of the mines at Bambuck and Tombuto, &c.—Schemes laid down for the better cultivating these acquisitions—Reasons of importance why they must not be return'd to the enemy—An enquiry into the nature of the consequences betwixt a company and a free trade—With some proposals in favour of the latter.

THUS far have I, either from my personal knowledge or from the best authorities, made you acquainted with our African conquests, and on what terms we are with the natives, &c. I must not, however, leave the coast 'till I endeavour to give you some idea of the great value of this easy purchase, and of the great necessity there is of keeping it in our own possession. For which purpose it is proper I begin with a description of the river itself.

I have already taken notice, that the Sanaga runs parallel to the sea-shore as far as fort St. Louis, being separated from it by a stripe of sand only; so loose, that walking upon it is troublesome; and so low, that the surf of the sea is constantly observ'd over it, while a stronger sea-breeze than usual makes an appearance as if the ocean would at once force itself over the sands, and lay the island under water. In this course, which is almost due north, it is navigable with small vessels as far as the island of Serimpala, which is about twenty-five leagues; the neck of the peninsula, or rather the bottom of the narrow slip of sand, being not broader at this part than three or four miles. Here the river takes a sudden turn from the north, and in a course almost due east, you are carried several hundred leagues into the heart of the country. Upon the left, going up from Serimpala, or as others call it Serinpeta, is that desert famous
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for its being the mart of the Arabian gums ; and after a serpentine course of three hundred leagues, you arrive at fort St. Joseph in Galam, which is on the right-hand or south side of the river.

A few leagues below this fort, the Sanaga is joined by another river from the south, called the Faleme ; which, as it is of consequence, I must not leave St. Joseph without taking notice of it.— About twelve leagues from the mouth of this river, upon the left, that is to the east, is the new gold mine of Naye ; a few miles above this the French have built a small fort called St. Pierre, on the right side of the river, a little below the fall of Kaynura : about twelve leagues above this fall are the mines of Tomana Niakanel, near to Dallemulet, on the left, and some miles from the river side, in the kingdom of Kontu ; and from thence about twenty-five leagues farther, in the kingdom of Kombre Gudu, as described by M. Compagnon, you are surrounded with mines on all hands.

But I have not yet done with this river ; I must beg leave to return as far as fort St. Peter, where a little below that, and on the east side of the river, it is joined by a fair sister, called the Sanon Kolez, or Golden River ; which runs in a serpentine manner, taking its rise from the mountains around the Golden Country of Tambaawra, about forty leagues to the south-east of St. Pierre.

We shall now for a little return to Sanaga, which, about four leagues above fort St. Joseph, and on the same side, is join'd by a river called Ghianon ; on which, by a course S. E. *b* S. you are brought to its source, within a few leagues of Tambaawra, and in the country of the Mandingos. This great tract of land betwixt Ghianon Kolez on the west, the kingdom of Kombre Guda on Faleme Kolez on the east, bounded by the kingdom of Makanaa on the south, and by the Sanaga on the north, is called the Gold Country.

M. Compagnon, who was through all this tract several times in the year 1716, and who was so well acquainted with it as to have compleated a map thereof, says that it produces gold in such abundance, that the negroes, who have no notion of seeking for the principal

cipal shaft of a mine, nor have any rules to direct them to places which yield metals from those which do not, are content to scrape the loose superficies of the earth, which they wash in a bowl, and, by draining off the muddy water, preserve the gold at the bottom; often so very pure, that, containing no mixture of any other metal, it is perfectly fit for use, without the trouble of either pounding or melting; and in this manner they find enough to furnish them with all those necessaries of life which they have at present any idea of.

But to continue our navigation on the Sanaga: from fort St. Joseph, to the town of Kaygnu, on the south side of the river, is about twenty leagues.—Here too is the first fall, call'd Felu.—About ten leagues farther is the second rock, call'd the fall of Govina; the former of which falls from a height of thirty fathoms, the other considerably more. Farther than this second fall, the French have made but few discoveries. The navigation is there much interrupted, and we have but poor accounts at what distance the Niger, from Govina, forms the two rivers Gambra or Gambia and Sanaga. On this river however, which we shall now call the Niger, there is in the kingdom of Gago, and upon the right-hand, an inland town call'd by some Tombuktu, by others Tombuto: and so rich in mines of gold, that caravans from Egypt, Tunis, Oran, Fez, Morocco, and Hoden, are yearly employ'd in carrying of gold, in return for salt and some few other necessaries.—We are also much in the dark with regard to the longitude of this city. The Mandingo merchants, who are the greatest travellers in the lower parts of the river, call it sixty days journey, or about four hundred and fifty leagues from the rocks of Felu to Tombuto; and those merchants again who bring the gold and slaves from thence to the Gambra, and who in their way always touch at Kaygnu, call it a journey of thirty-two days only, which, at ten leagues a day, make but three hundred and twenty leagues to Kaygnu.

The French company, sensible of the great value of being acquainted with the Tombutons, have done much to get a clear knowledge of the navigation to this place, being averse to undertake it by land; but the barbarity (as they give out) of the people, the endeavours of the Mandingo traders to discourage strangers from attempt-
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ing what would hurt themselves, and the want of proper light swimming vessels to get over shoals and grassy passages, have been insurmountable difficulties. It may, however, I am of opinion, be brought about; and my reasons for so thinking are obvious. French writers, in the first place, seem all of them agreed to give the world great ideas of their riches, and of their important settlements; and at the same time give such pompous accounts of their natural strength, and of the vast discouragements they have labour'd under to attain them, that enemies or strangers would thereby be led to imagine it a work of too great labour, to force a share of their trade: but when the latter has been attempted, their natural strength became trifling, and the difficulties vanished; while it will be well for us, if we find they have not also been Frenchmen, in their accounts of the former. Farther; the French adventurers often tell us, that in their endeavours to get towards Tombuto, their negroe guides, after having carry'd them certain lengths, refuse to go farther because they then enter into an enemy's country; the consequence of which is, the French themselves, who although they have gone great lengths in some things by frequent efforts, yet from their natural volatile and inconstant dispositions, they became at length tir'd of such arduous enterprizes, and fancying to themselves that their guides desert them lest they should learn too much of their country, return with them, lest they should not be able to find their way back again—while at the same time 'tis more probable these pilots, not having the same lucrative views to sweeten their toil, are not to be led so far from home, for the starv'd presents they usually made them. Again, I think the knowledge of Tombuto may be attain'd, because by all accounts the natives have never shewn any aversion to Europeans settling amongst them, but rather have encouraged them; for that they were afraid of the French taking the trade from themselves, lay greatly in their own fears—they are not in the least alarm'd about it; and they very well know, that it is not in our power to take away their gold, without giving them an equivalent. Nor, if properly manag'd, would they have any aversion to our settling amongst them in the city of Tombuto itself: they must soon be persuaded of what consequence it must be, even to themselves, to have those European things they use at hand, and to have it in their power to call for them when they need, without being at the
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trouble of carrying their merchandize for several hundred leagues to the settlements of the English, on the river Gambia or Gambra.—And this leads me to another reason, why I think the knowledge of Tombuto to us would not be so difficult to obtain, as to the French. We have all along been able to afford greater prices, and greater encouragements than the French; insomuch that the traders from Tombuto, coming down yearly with slaves, &c. are oblig'd to halt a night at Kaygnu, a large town on the river Sanaga, below the falls of Felu, and within twenty-five leagues of fort St. Joseph at Galame; and yet from thence they strike across the country to the English factories on the Gambia, without so much as offering their effects to the French market.—So that altho' the French, in their endeavours to hurt our company in this trade, has met with many obstructions, because they were forc'd to take indirect methods, we have no such difficulties seemingly to engage; the traders from Tombuto are our friends, and we need no mandingo, nor distant negroe guides, since themselves may be brought to protect us. Amongst these arguments, this other may claim a place of no small force. The French have for many years, at a vast expence and industry, endeavour'd to polish and civilize the natives; they have been wonderfully successful; and having at last almost conquer'd all the difficulties, a British colony who could begin resolutely at first, without feeling the expence it might cost them for a little, would have 'ere long their pleasures in maturity.

Having thus far shewn you the value of this country, and my reasons why I think it is practicable to become better acquainted with it, than the French have as yet been; I will next, as far as I have been able to comprehend the subject, point out to you what I think would be the properest schemes of operation.

My first design is upon Tombuto. To accomplish which, I would apply to the king of Galame, his farims or chief men, and marabuts; and by the prevailing custom of presents, to suffer me to build a fort on the island of Kaygnu (near the falls of Felu), or on the main land near to the town of that name.—After that the king of Kasson must be won by the same method, to befriend us in permitting a second fort to be erected at or near the falls of Govina,—from which I would in like manner ascend to other places, 'till

'till my point were gain'd, or that I found it impracticable to go farther. The only people that I would have any fears of obstruction from, are the Mandingo merchants. For as an acquaintance with Tombuto might, and would naturally make the gold of Bambuck of less value, 'tis likely they might use their interest with the king of Galam, to hinder our proceeding farther upon the river than fort St. Joseph at Dramanet—these people, therefore, must be gain'd: they are an independant sort of nation, and on that account are not to be won by giving presents to one man, so much as by a fair and open conversation with some of their principal leaders. A meeting of this kind agreed upon, I would represent to them the little that is to be fear'd from our knowledge with Tombuto; that we cannot possibly buy more gold than that people will work; that quantity we would purchase whether we build forts or not, because the inhabitants of Tombuto will constantly carry it to the settlements on the Gambia: so that it will be in reality an enriching of them, since drawing the merchandize to this river will of course hurt the trade on the south.—Besides that, the forts may be represented as a great benefit, a great ease, and saving to themselves: since our designs would not be to take the trade from them, so much as to ease them of part of their fatigue, in bringing traffic from St. Louis by the convenience of water-carriage in our flat-bottom'd boats, which must be far superior to their canoes or camels, and by which they may have a more constant supply, at an easier rate, in greater quantities, greater varieties, and brought within twenty or thirty leagues of their own country. In all which, considering the natural inactivity and laziness of the people; that they seldom work, and seldomer bring their gold to market but when drove to it; considering how little supports their dignity as well as necessity, and that we can easily, without any real detriment to either, serve both; I think it unlikely, they would make any great endeavour against our building as many forts upon the rivers as we should think proper. And in this my own opinion is, that the princes on whose grounds we might choose to settle, would rather give us their assistance than be any hinderance, from the selfish representations of the Mandingos.

It may be objected by some, that it is not probable the natives of so extensive a country, and of kingdoms so independant, will suffer us to build forts and garrisons on their grounds, to the diminishing

of their private properties, as well as the lessening of their princes authority.—To which I will beg leave to ask; Would it be of any service to us to abuse the trading people of Norway, by turning them from our ports; while, for our advantage as well as their gain, their vessels are loaded with such merchandize as we are daily in want of? Much less were it to the advantage of the natives of Africa, to refuse us passages to their cities, or even settlements amongst them, since, by uncertain visits, they cannot be well serv'd; whereas by fix'd forts, and open warehouses, they can have at all times those conveniencies which Europe produces. For as to their fears of our encroaching on their authorities, 'tis all a farce —Of what use, may I ask, would the very strongest fortification be, upon the river Sanaga; of what use all the cannon of England, if the kings around us were to deny us provisions? Our forts are no more than places of rendezvous, and strong warehouses, to guard our wealth against the lawless, a people from whom no nation is free, and our lives against the wild creatures of the woods; and we shall find ourselves grievously disappointed, if we presume to give the natives any real abuse because we are surrounded with cannon.

Another objection some people may have to schemes of this nature, is from the great expence that must attend them. But this I fancy must have little weight with a trading people, who seldom expect a return of trade without laying out a sum of money. The French have been greatly to blame in this point.—Many schemes have been propos'd by the governors of forts and travellers in this country, to the French India company, for the better cultivation of trade; but from the difficulty and the drudgery of bringing in a people, many of whom had never seen a white person before the year 1744; and from the expence it cost them before their returns could be made, their volatile and inconstant dispositions getting the better of their resolution, they lost heart, and at last began to manage matters in a parsimonious and confin'd manner.

Every one in trade must be sensible how far a curious shew-glass at a window, induces a passenger to step into the shop; how far varieties gain upon our fancy, to purchase what we often have little occasion for; and how few things are bought by people in the country during the summer, in comparison of what they take thro' the

the winter, when the shops in town are open and at hand. To carry this observation to Africa; although, in my own private opinion, there may be an unfairness in endeavouring to debauch a hardy people with effeminacy, yet, as a member of a trading nation, I cannot help representing that whereas the Mandingo traders never carry into their countries but one and the same sort of commodities, the greater number of forts or settlements we have in the country, will introduce a new and greater variety of conveniencies: by sometimes giving their princes and great men presents of various sorts of raiment, we should introduce amongst the whole an extravagance in this article, and so of others. Great quantities, and shewy choices of European fineries, be they ever so tawdry, would learn them gaiety; and to support which, we would not force them upon any unlawful methods, since digging and washing the oftner would do the business.—Here my own views would rest: I would not seek to be rich too soon, lest I should lose all: I would spare, if possible, the lives of my countrymen, who must die under the fatigue of labour, in the insufferable heats of the gold countries; and allowing a profit to the Mandingo traders, for their drudgeries in the working and carriage, I would lay myself out by all methods to cultivate a peaceable and generous character; to gain a good understanding with the negroes, their farims and princes; and if in all which it were possible to introduce a person skill'd in mines amongst them, with a view only to instruct them in the art, I should not doubt of finding my account in the end. For should the Sanaga be found really impassable with boats to any distance above Govina, or should the political views of neighbouring powers stop any farther acquaintance with the Tombutans than by our receiving their trade at Kaygnu, our labour would not be lost. We shall have thereby made ourselves acquainted with the nations upon the Sanaga; and by our forts, become the more formidable, and secure on the gold country near Galame.

But there are people who can never be contented with part; they must have all or none, and would not choose to be near the mines, if they could not also work them. I believe that is also to be done.—But we must, for that end, have a more formidable appearance still; and that too, must be gain'd without creating suspicion. For which purpose, my next scheme would be an amendment of the
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fieur Brue's, who, besides forts on the shore, proposed a floating factory, which could be transported upon the river at pleasure. Now together with this, to protect our people as a castle in the building of forts on the Sanaga, and afterwards to be used as a moveable factory, where the fix'd ones may be distant, I would, upon the river Falame, above the falls at Kaynura, and near to the protection of the fort of St. Peter, build a flat floating vessel, fitted to contain a director, with miners and soldiers to row upon occasion, as well as to support the company; which I would also have made arrow proof, and strengthened, over and above the soldiers firelocks, with musketoons, blunderbusses, and a couple of short light brass cannon or swivels.

This vessel I would at first use as a factory only, reserving the main purpose 'till opportunity should serve; and for that end, carrying her twenty leagues above Kaynura, I would there moor her, and open a market.—My reason for this, is because of a gold mine being there, according to the account of M. Compagnon, in the lands of Tomana Niakanel, rich and pure in the metal, and not difficult to work; which the negroes from some superstitious notions having left off working it, may be easily purchased.—At first, it were prudent to overlook or make light of the mines at Tomana Niakanel, and the accidents which, by poison, from the ignorance of the workers, have happened there, will be a good pretext for making light of it: besides, as the mines at Naye, Dallemulet, Salabati, Segalla, Siscella, and others, which are around us on that river, and within ten, fifteen, and twenty leagues, will be sufficient for our trade at first without the fatigue of working; and we must seem desirous of a piece of ground for nothing so much as to build a factory on shore, to take from us the inconveniencies of a vessel. If they are to be caught in this trap, and sell us the mines of Tomana Niakanel, or if they will even permit us to build a fort near those mines, our toils will be amply rewarded.—If they once are prevail'd upon to give us one settlement on the borders of their mines, we need not fear that they would deny us a second. Now as the negroes find their gold by washing the sand along the rivers and in the vallies only, there is a probability that there is no real shaft or vein of gold either at Nettiko, Tambaawra, or any other of the working places; and that the dust found by them in digging to the depth of eight, nine, or ten feet,
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is only what is wash'd from the real shafts in the adjacent mountains, by the great falls of rain they sometimes have, and of which the natives have not the least idea: so that being once settl'd in those places, there is no probability of their refusing us a settlement upon these hills, wherever we may find it will suit us best.

And now having settl'd so far upon the Falame, having by our good behaviour convinced the natives there is nothing to be fear'd from us, having made them a little more familiar with Europeans, and sensible of the value we may be amongst them, having convinc'd them that we can furnish them with finer assortments of traffick, and much cheaper than the French formerly did, and of which even the traders from Tombuto are already sensible, we may venture a step farther.—My next scheme, would be a personal acquaintance with the mines of Bambuck and Tambaawra. To accomplish which, during the time of our settling and getting acquainted upon the Falame, as it is more than possible some of the Bambuktans may have made excursions so far (twenty-five leagues), and probably some of their princes, we may introduce our desires of paying a visit to their abodes, which, considering we shall have got so near the gold mines of Kombre Gudu, will please their vanity in not being neglected: besides, their jealousy that our improvements on the Falame may render their gold of less value, and that by a few visits amongst our traders on the Falame, they must be early sensible how much cheaper they may purchase goods from us, than from their own countrymen the Mandingo's, it is more probable they would invite us amongst them than be a hinderance. However, if this should not prove the case, at a convenient time I would send to Bambuck an ambassador properly guarded, to beg permission to come and pay my respects to their lords, and to offer them presents. This done, instead of sending up a single adventurer, as the French did an ingenious but ill rewarded Compagnon; I would think it proper for us to send up a whole company, in a well guarded and fortified Caravan, loaded with goods to sell as well as presents to their chiefs. After this sort of visit is twice or thrice repeated, the managing of matters then will lay much in the circumstances of whether the natives shall seem most afraid of us or we of them: and from thence prudence must greatly direct whether to set down immediately and entrench ourselves, to open our stores only, and endeavour to gain their

their friendships at first rather than their gold; or whether there might not be a possibility of gaining over the lords of both places, to allow us to open one place of work amongst them, with the view of learning them the art of mining, smelting, and refining. If they allow us one place, such as we may choose, and on which they in all probability may set little store, we may need no more; for the consequences will be daily increasing amongst the natives.— They must of course grow more polish'd, and of course need more traffick, and in greater varieties; learning at the same time conveniences they knew not of before, their ideas must expand, their wants must grow upon them; and which must still the more increase, when they find that by copying the English (and they have ingenuity to do any thing) they can also find gold in greater quantities. This art would thus immediately spread over all the country; each king or lord would endeavour to vie with his neighbour; and that they might become the easier and better instructed in the art, we would of course become caress'd amongst them. Gold mines would be open'd, and the veins themselves wrought all over the country; gold itself becoming more plentiful, would become more cheap: and the *sieur Compagnon* assur'd the French company, that ten men in *Bambuck*, from the nature of the earth and rocks, would do more than a hundred in the richest mines of *Peru* or *Brazil*.—The soil here is a fat clay, and according to *M. Compagnon* (who I think of all the French writers is most to be depended upon in the descriptions of this country) is mix'd with earth of various colours, such as white, blue, purple, green, yellow, &c. and every where spangl'd with gold. But besides gold, there are here also silver, tin, lead, copper, and iron, so good and plentiful, that bar-iron does not pass for money a great way above the desert. Salt-petre may be also sent from this part of the world, at a little expence. Marble is likewise found throughout all *Galam*, with crystal and other colour'd transparent stones; as also woods for dying, scenting, and inlaying.

But the conquest of this country, is of still a farther benefit to Britain.—We have on the *Gambra*, endeavour'd several times to ruin the French trade on the *Sanaga*, by raising the price of slaves, &c. which, while it no doubt hurt them, did us no manner of real service. The French again, to repay the compliment, began by stratagem; and of such nature as would have prov'd, in all likelihood,

hood, a very home stroke to the British company in Africa, if they had been possess'd of the Sanaga but a few years longer. They have had it in view for some time past, gradually to become of importance upon the Sanaga; and by gaining thereby the confidence of the neighbouring princes, and building forts above the falls of Govina, but especially at Kaygnu, at which the merchants of Bambarakana, as well as Tombuto, touch in their way to the English settlements on the Gambia, to cut the English entirely out of that trade. Now as it is near two hundred leagues from thence (Kaygnu) to our settlements on the southern Branch, and two hundred more in returning, their expectations were not unreasonable; since those merchants, naturally lazy, from the excessive heat of the climate, and having already travell'd so far, were not so greatly tied to the English, but would gladly have parted with their merchandizes at a less price, to have been eased of such a vast journey, as well as the risque and expence; and M. Compagnon, besides the ivory and gold, calculates no less than two thousand of the best slaves (strong, gentle, faithful, and tractable) come yearly from this trade. So that on these accounts, besides that it is now in our power by degrees to reduce the prices of those trafficks we heighten'd in opposition to the French, it will prove a heavy article, if, in accommodating a peace, we should be oblig'd to give up our acquisitions upon the coast of Africa.

Another scheme, for the benefit of our settlements, I must here also adjoin, before I take my leave of the torrid zone. When trade gets into the hands of a company, it is always carried on with spirit in the beginning; but when the first expence is clear'd, they grow less sanguine in their views, and content if they get an uniform return, seldom carry improvements so far as they might.—The management of a company would never have peopled a tract of ground like America; and if ever trade is carried on as it ought on this river, it will be when we become numerous. For which purpose, all capital criminals (murderers excepted) might by the king's clemency be sent to work in the mines for life; male convicts, instead of America, might be sent as servants to Africa; and by introducing our religion with our language, and doing every thing possible to encourage a regular marriage betwixt our servants and the natives,

tives, a few generations would spread along the rivers very populous settlements of European descendents. A free and open trade, for these reasons, is to be preferred: but, altho' under this trade improvements flourish in time, yet as it meets with vast oppositions and discouragements in its infancy, the government must lend a strong hand in establishing and encouraging it: and we will find in the articles of building of forts and garrisoning them, a body of men no less than two thousand will be necessary.

But the greatest discouragement that a free trade would meet with in the beginning, is the dangers, the difficulties, and great troubles there are in carrying the merchandizes over the bars in the river's mouth: and which is a thing can never be amended in itself, since while the river comes down from the desert in a south course, and keeping its current close upon the main shore towards Cape Verde, the wash of the ocean at the same time from the west, at the river's mouth, is continually throwing up those banks of sand, as already describ'd.—I therefore leave it to the consideration of those more skill'd in these matters, whether or not that neck of land, towards the desert, twenty-five leagues to the north of the Barbary point, or to the south of Portendic, and but of a breadth not more than three or four miles, may be cut a-crofs. It is low, sandy, and light soil; digging but five feet, will bring the labourers to the level of the sea; and it would require no great breadth or depth at first—for if the gut be ready for letting in the stream about the time of the freshes coming down, the river then getting a vent in a streight course, will with the greatest violence force itself a passage, as wide and as deep as may be necessary even for the navigating of heavy vessels. Should it however want any amendment, either as to the depth or breadth, it can easily be done; our instruments used in clearing of rivers, may be here also used; the strength of its stream being then turn'd directly west, there will be no longer any fear of sand-banks rising with the wash of the sea, but be entirely carried off by the stream. The island of Serinpall, or Serimpala, may be sufficient for a fort: it is not likely we would be refus'd it; nor that Muchtard of Leghiboli would deny us the liberty of cutting a new mouth to the river, since it would greatly tend to his advantage. In all which the only difficulty appearing to me, is whether or not the fresh-water stream could over-power the salt, so as not to be in-

incommoded with the want of fresh water : but this, with the possibility of finding fresh springs elsewhere, I must leave to future discoveries, and for this time bid farewell to Africk shore.



C H A P. XIV.

Of the return of the great ships to England—The separation of the Squadron—And particularly of the hardships the Fougueux encounter'd from the Latitudes of forty-three degrees thirteen minutes north, to her arrival at Spithead.

AS the commodore purposed to make the best of his way to England, he took with him the Fougueux, Nassau, Dunkirk, and Prince Edward only, leaving the smaller vessels to convoy the empty transports at their leisure, who had as on Tuesday the twenty-third finish'd their business at Senegal. On the twenty-third, then, we sail'd from Africa, and under such a crowd of sail, that on the twenty-seventh we left the Prince Edward, not many leagues distant from Senegal ; and pursuing our course with the greatest expedition, although the weather was blowing inconstant and squally, we still kept abroad the same sail night as well as day ; and on the day following the Nassau, a great way a-stern, was observ'd to take in her main-top-gallant and main-top-sail, and haul'd down all her stay-fails between the masts, having, as was most likely, sprung her main-top-mast ; and on the morning following, we found that ship had also drop'd a-stern of us. On the eighth of February the winds grew strong and squally, accompanied with rain and a north-west swell ; on the ninth, early in the morning, I think at three o'clock, running at the rate of ten knots, in a rough and swelling sea, we thought it time to take in the first and second top-sail-reefs, and to hand the mizen-top-sail ; at seven o'clock, we got down our top-gallant-yards ; at eight, the sprit-sail-top-sail-yard ; and at eleven, or about noon, we found it necessary for the safety of so old and so crazy a ship, as well as for the consideration of five hundred souls on board of her, to manage with the utmost prudence : and as it would

have been the greatest instance of madness to have endeavoured to force an old complaining vessel thro' the same seas with two new and strong ships, we close reef'd and handed our top-sails; in an hour afterwards, to ease her as much as possible, we lower'd down the mizen-yard; in the afternoon, labouring prodigiously in the sea, we endeavoured to unbend the fore-top-sail, but, in the execution, the winds split it to pieces; and about six o'clock that evening, we lost sight of the Torbay and Dunkirk. Being thus left to ourselves, in the wide ocean, without assistance if we should have in our distress'd condition sprung leaks or foundered we went on under an easy sail, sometimes putting abroad and sometimes taking in sail, as the seas, the weather, or conveniency would allow; having then got into a considerable northern latitude (forty-three degrees thirteen minutes, and distant from Senegal upwards of one thousand seven hundred miles). On sunday the eleventh we were oblig'd to get down our fore-castle guns into the hold, if possible to ease her forward; but to little purpose: we then found the shocks she received in the harbour of Corke, did very much affect her. On the twelfth she broke two iron standards, supporting the beams in the orlop deck; on the next day a third: and withal labour'd and strain'd so prodigiously in a huge and confus'd sea, with strong terrifying winds and heavy rains, that there was not one dry part in the ship, below or aloft. Below water, the sea ran thro' her sides, in some places with the noise and force of a cascade, insomuch that our great pumps were continually at work, to keep her above water: and as to ourselves, so miserable was our situations, from her leaky upper-works, that there was hardly an officer or sailor on board, who for weeks together knew what it was to lay down for an hour in a dry bed or hammock! On the fourteenth we descried a small vessel in the south-west, to which we gave chase; but carrying away all our steering sails, loosing one of them, and finding we did not come up with her without them, altho' we had reason to imagine her an enemy, yet being in no condition to keep out at sea, we return'd to our proper course, and to a safer canvass: when happy had it been for us, we could have as easily return'd to better quarters! Struggling thro' mountain seas, tempestuous thundering weather, heavy rains, a labouring ship, wet beds, and with fluxes amongst our people daily

daily increasing, we weather'd out another week.—When on the twentieth we broke one of the standards on the upper gun deck, lost one of our hands over-board, and had also our larboard bumkin block and shrouds wash'd away. On the same day, at noon, we descried two sails to windward, being then at S. E. *b* S. who we soon after perceiv'd alter'd their course, and stood for us: hauling up our sails to wait for them, they soon after hoisted English colours; but at the same time, putting abroad a signal, with which we were unacquainted, they haul'd their wind and would come no nearer us: seeing which, we gave them chace, and the rather, that it was not out of our way to port; but after a chace of two days and two nights, they at last under the cover of night got clear of us: and by which, we had the misfortune to break two of the fore-mast chain-bolts forward, to draw out several others, and to loosen the ships upper works so much abaft, that the carpenter, afraid she would there have parted asunder, begg'd the captain to throw some of his guns over-board to lighten her.

The captain, however, unwilling to think of such an expedient, until we were brought to the last effort, gave the guns a reprieve; and the same day, being the twenty-third, we fell in with another sail, to which we gave chase, and had the pleasure of meeting with a friend in the honourable captain Barrington, of the Achilles, from whom we had once more the satisfaction to hear of the prosperity of our affairs at home! We had for the best part of that day moderate weather and fair, and were in hopes to carry it so into England, being then by accounts not many leagues from Scilly islands.—But alas! at seven that evening, the weather again grew squally, with rain, in which we were oblig'd to close reef our top-sails, and get down top-gallant yards: on the morning following, the weather waxing still more severe, we struck our top-gallant masts, and got once more under our fore and main-sail.—But even then she pitch'd so violently under water, and took in such swelling seas, that we were oblig'd to endeavour if possible to get the sprit-sail yard upon the fore-castle; in effecting of which, one man was carried twice under water with the yard, and being once wash'd from thence, he clung to the ropes and sav'd himself, with two more in almost equal circumstances, while a fourth on the lee arm
of

of the yard, was wash'd entirely from us; and altho' we saw him swim strong in the water, until the towering seas separated him from our views, and might struggle with death for a considerable time longer, yet was it not in our powers to yield him the least assistance! At five in the evening we were oblig'd, by an increasing storm, to lower down the fore-yard, and bring the ship too under the main-sail and fore-stay-sail, which at seven o'clock we split, and in lieu of which, at nine, we hoisted up the mizen, reef'd and ballanc'd; in which condition we drove, at the mercy of the winds and waves, until the twenty-fifth at noon, when we were enabled to ware ship and make a little sail again:—and after plying for two days longer to windward, we at last in the latitude of forty-nine degrees forty-six minutes, got soundings in seventy-five fathoms water, on a fine white sand. On the twenty-eighth the weather grew moderate and clear; the winds enabled us to lye up an E. S. E. course, with our sails full; and on Ash-Wednesday, the twenty-ninth of February, we made the Lizard.

Soon after which, being carry'd into the dock at Portsmouth, after a very strict enquiry, the ship was found so bruis'd with her misfortunes at Corke, and so weaken'd with our distresses at sea, that she was render'd unfit any more for that service; unfit even to lay by the harbour as an old hulk or prison-ship.—And while she was raz'd to the keel for the value of her old iron only, the workmen were even afraid to meddle with her, least in many places she would have fallen asunder, altho' shor'd up in the dock. These are the dangers your friend has past,—which now are turn'd to praise.

I am,

My dear Sir,

Your's, &c.

F I N I S,

